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# COL. HENRY BOUQUET

AND

## HIS CAMPAIGNS

OF

1763 AND 1764.

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By REV. CYRUS CORT,  
OF GREENCASTLE, FRANKLIN COUNTY, PA.

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TO THE PRECIOUS MEMORY OF  
BEATRICE BYERLY,

WHO ESCAPED PONTIAC'S CONFEDERATES AND BORE HER TENDER  
BABES THROUGH THE WILDERNESS FROM BUSHY RUN TO FORT  
LIGONIER, IN 1763; WHO ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTED A SUN-  
DAY SCHOOL AT FORT WALTHOUR, IN WESTMORELAND COUNTY,  
PENNSYLVANIA, DURING THE DARK AND DANGEROUS DAYS OF  
THE REVOLUTION, AND WHO WAS A BLESSING TO HUNDREDS OF  
PIONEER SETTLERS BY HER DEEDS OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY AND  
PATRIOTIC DEVOTION DURING A LONG AND EVENTFUL LIFE ON  
THE FRONTIERS, THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS DEDICATED BY ONE  
OF HER GRATEFUL DESCENDANTS.

"THOUGH HEAVEN ALONE RECORDS THE TEAR,  
AND FAME SHALL NEVER KNOW HER STORY,  
HER HEART HAS SHED A DROP AS DEAR  
AS E'ER BEDEWED THE FIELD OF GLORY."

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## INTRODUCTION.

On the 26th of April 1883, a meeting was held in the arbitration room of the court house at Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pa., to consider the propriety of celebrating the 120th anniversary of the victory of Col. Henry Bouquet at Bushy Run, August 5 and 6, 1763, over the Confederates of Pontiac.

Ex-Lieut.-Gov. John Latta was called to the chair, and Gen'l Richard Coulter and Hon. Jacob Turney were elected Vice Presidents ; Maj. Jas. M. Laird, Frank Vogle and Curtis Gregg were chosen as Secretaries.

By request of the meeting Rev. Cyrus Cort, a resident of Greencastle, Pa., but a native of Greensburg, Pa., was called upon to address the meeting, which he did for over half an hour, eulogizing the character and achievements of Bouquet and showing the far-reaching results of his decisive victory at Bushy Run. Rev. Cort read a letter from Hon. Joseph H. Kuhns, regretting his inability to be present and heartily approving the object of the meeting in its efforts to honor the memory of Bouquet, whose march and victory in 1763 were wonderful military achievements and did much to promote the rapid settlement of the west.

On motion, Revs. J. W. Love, W. W. Moorehead, Lucien Cort and Philip Kuhns, Dr. Kline and A. M. Sloan, Esq.,

were appointed a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. The following were reported:

*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this meeting, it is eminently right and proper to commemorate the 120th anniversary of the victory of Col. Henry Bouquet over Pontiac's confederates at Bushy Run, August 5th and 6th, 1763.

*Resolved*, That inasmuch as August 5th comes on Sunday this year, and inasmuch as all the interests of humanity and Christian civilization were promoted by the decisive victory of Bouquet, we would respectfully suggest to the pastors of all of our churches in the town and county, the propriety of making such special reference to the anniversary, in their regular religious services, as in their judgment may be right and proper.

*Resolved*, That the victory of Bouquet be commemorated August 6th, in the grove of the old Bushy Run battle-field, by a public celebration, embracing addresses, a poem, a military display, pic-nic, dinner, &c.

*Resolved*, That a committee of arrangements, to secure and prepare the grounds; a committee on finance, to raise funds to defray necessary expenses of the celebration, and a committee to invite speakers, distinguished guests, military organizations, &c., be appointed.

The resolutions were adopted and committees in accordance appointed, as follows:

*Committee of Arrangements to Secure and Prepare Grounds for the Celebration.*—Amos B. Kline, J. B. Laux, Lewis Wannamaker, E. F. Houseman, Lewis Gongaware, William Moore, Mr. Shadwick, Jos. Clark, Robert Byerly, Wm. G. Shuster, Abner Cort.

*Committee on Finance.*—Jas. Gregg, Esq., Geo. F. Huff, Capt. J. J. Wirsing, Dr. Sowash, Wm. B. Skelly, Paul Lauffer, David Snyder, John Rankin, Sebastian Baer, Esq., Hon. N. M. Marker, H. F. Ludwick, Esq., Hon. John Hugus, and George Plumer Smith of Philadelphia.

*Committee on Invitation.*—General R. Coulter, Hon. Jos. H. Kuhns, Hon. Jacob Turney, Hon. John Latta, Maj. James M. Laird, G. D. Albert, Esq., John A. Marchand, Esq., Dr. Frank Cowan.

The annexed resolution was likewise adopted:

*Resolved*, That the chairmen of the three committees aforesaid be an executive committee to fill all vacancies and have a general oversight of the celebration.

A discussion then took place in regard to the advisability of issuing a pamphlet for popular circulation, giving a sketch of Col. Bouquet and his campaigns. It was felt that such a work would form a very important factor in the celebration, and the sentiment of the meeting was that it should be issued without delay. Next day Rev. C. Cort received a letter from Gen. Richard Coulter, A. B. Kline, Esq., and James Gregg, Esq., stating that it was the sense of the meeting that a pamphlet, consisting of one hundred pages, should be prepared as soon as possible, containing a historical sketch of Bouquet and all matters of colonial interest bearing especially on his campaign against the Confederates of Pontiac. These gentlemen, forming the Executive Committee of the celebration, also stated further that it was their wish that he (Rev. C.) should prepare the aforesaid pamphlet. This task was accepted as a labor of love, with the understanding that the writer would assume all pecuniary responsibilities, and that if any profits resulted from the sale of the book or pamphlet above necessary cost of publication, the proceeds should be devoted to a fund for a monument to Bouquet.

As the time was limited, and the duties of a large and laborious pastoral charge devolved upon the writer, the work has been prepared in great haste, but with conscientious care and fidelity to the facts of history and reliable traditions. I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to writings of Francis Parkman, Geo. Harrison Fisher, C. W. Butterfield and the Penn'a Historical Society for valuable assistance in preparing this imperfect sketch of the best military man and one of the finest gentlemen and scholars of colonial times. May it help to rescue from oblivion the memory of a truly good and great man, whose heroic efforts saved our colonial ancestors from the tomahawk and scalping knife and established the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race in the valley of the Mississippi.

Dr. Wm Smith's publication in 1765, and Dumas' sketch in 1769, form the basis of this present effort to present the facts of his life for general circulation.

At a meeting of the executive committee and committee on invitation, at which Rev. Cort was present, June 19th, it was decided to issue special invitations to the governors of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, to the British Minister, Swiss Consul, Gen. R. C. Drum, &c. Also that Rev. Samuel Wilson, D.D., Gen. James A. Beaver, Hon. W. S. Stenger and W. U. Hensel, Esq., be invited to deliver addresses at the celebration on the battlefield, Aug. 6 ; Dr. Frank Cowan to read a poem, and Dr. Wm. H. Egle to read a paper.

May the skies be bright and all things propitious.

#### BOUQUET'S BIRTH-PLACE.

HENRY BOUQUET, the subject of our sketch, was born at Rolle, a small Swiss town on the northern shore of Lake Geneva in 1719. This town at that time belonged to the Canton of Berne, one of the largest and most influential Cantons of the Swiss Confederation. It now belongs to the Canton of Vaud, which is a part of French Switzerland, the dialect spoken being the Vaudois. The inhabitants since Reformation days have been chiefly members of the Reformed church, and always ardent lovers of civil and religious liberty. They are noted for industry and intelligence.

From this part of Switzerland comes a large proportion of the Swiss teachers and governesses to be met with in all parts of the world.

Lansanne, the capital of the Canton Vaud, is picturesquely situated on the southern slope of the Jura mountains and near the northern shore of Lake Geneva. It is distinguished for its religious, educational and scientific institutions. The beautiful Gothic Cathedral, begun in the 10th and completed in the 13th century, adorns the city and helps to attract vast crowds of visitors from all parts of the world. Here Gibbon, the historian resided many years, and here he wrote the greater part of his great work on the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Here, in the western corner of Switzerland, between the Jura and the Bernese Alps, near the French borders, Henry Bouquet first saw the light. Amid the most beau-

tiful scenery on the northern shores of the celebrated Lake Geneva which is fifty miles long and eight wide, amid orchards, vineyards and fertile farming and pasture lands, in full view of Mount Blanc and the most inspiring Alpine scenery he spent the formative days of childhood and youth. All these left their impress upon his soul and aided greatly in forming the noble and heroic character which shone forth resplendently in his future eventful career, both in the old world and the new.

Little is known of the family of Bouquet. The Deutsche Pioneer of Cincinnati has contended that his family name was originally *Strauss* from which it was changed into *Bouquet*, its French equivalent, when our hero had fairly begun his military career.

This is certainly a mistake founded on mere conjecture based on the analogy of such changes as Schoenberg to Belmont, &c. There is no reliable evidence to show that Bouquet ever changed his family name, much less to show that he had any special predilection for France or the French. The Vaudois people amongst whom he was born and reared have always spoken a French dialect, and in that language particularly he doubtless received his education. But it is a noteworthy fact that Bouquet always fought against France. He seemed to regard her as the representative of civil and religious despotism, and he gallantly fought against her under the banner of the government which for the time being best represented the cause and principles of constitutional liberty.

I have before me a copy of Bouquet's last Will and Testament made June 5, 1765, from which I transcribe a clause, viz: "I give and bequeath to my father, if then living, or after him to Colonel Lewis Bouquet and heirs all the effects of any nature whatsoever which I may die possessed of in the Continent of Europe without exception." This would indicate that Bouquet was the original and genuine family name, and not merely the result of a capricious predilection for foreign terms. It would indicate also that the family was not so obscure as some have supposed. Mr. Koradi, the Swiss consul, has undertaken to gather data on this point which we hope will be on hand at an early day.

The war of American Independence which was looming up at the time of Bouquet's death in 1765, and the fact that Col. Frederick Haldimand, his executor, and to a large extent the legatee of his American possessions remained loyal to King George III. in that struggle, prevented proper examination of these matters by those most interested in Bouquet's career over a hundred years ago. This accounts in a measure also for the obscurity and comparative injustice connected with the treatment of Bouquet by writers of Colonial history.

A hundred and twenty years ago his name was a household word in America, and the memory of his heroic deeds was cherished for a generation with fond affection, by descendants of pioneer settlers whom he had rescued from the tomahawk of the red savages. Perhaps because he was a Swiss and gained his greatest distinction in the British service on Pennsylvania soil in Colonial times the muse of history and poetry has failed to embalm and perpetuate his name and achievements in a more worthy and grateful manner.

Be this as it may, the time has come when the grateful and intelligent descendants of pioneer Colonial settlers, and all public spirited citizens are called upon to remedy the defect and rectify the wrongs or omissions of a century, as regards the memory of one of the very best men that trod this continent before our country became a free and independent republic. To this end I have begun this narrative as an aid to the forthcoming celebration of the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of the victory of Bouquet over the confederates of Pontiac at Bushy Run, Aug. 6, 1763.

#### BOUQUET LEAVES HOME.

Growing up amid the inspiring scenery of liberty loving Switzerland, Bouquet sought a theatre more commensurate with his talents and aspirations than the narrow confines bounded by his native Alps. In 1736 at the age of seventeen he made his way along the historic Rhine to the Lowlands of Holland and entered the service of the Dutch Republic, as a cadet in the Regiment of Constant. In

1738 he obtained the commission of an ensign in the same regiment. He thus began his career under the government that long had championed the cause of civil and religious liberty, and which was the forerunner of our own great Republic. The King of Sardinia, whose country borders on Switzerland near the home of Bouquet, became involved in a war with the combined forces of France and Spain, then leading powers of Europe. Bouquet entered the Sardinian service and distinguished himself greatly first as lieutenant, and afterwards as adjutant in several memorable and ably conducted campaigns. At the battle of Cony especially did he display great presence of mind and strategic talent in occupying a perilous position in such a way that his men were not aware of the imminent risk to which they were exposed. His very accurate and interesting accounts of these campaigns sent to Holland, attracted the attention of the Prince of Orange, and induced him to secure the services of Bouquet in the army of the Dutch Republic. He entered it in 1748 as captain commandant with the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Swiss guards, a regiment lately formed at the Hague.

He was sent at once with Generals Burmannia and Cornabe to receive from the French the posts in the Low Countries about to be evacuated, and the prisoners of war given up to the Republic by France at the close of the war, according to the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. A few months later he accepted an invitation to accompany Lord Middleton in a tour through France and Italy. It is supposed that in his intimate associations with this nobleman, Bouquet gained his surprising knowledge of the English language which he wrote better than the great majority of English officers.

#### HOW BOUQUET SPENT LEISURE TIME.

On his return to the Hague, Bouquet devoted every moment not needed in the discharge of regimental duties, to the careful study of matters pertaining to military art and tactics, especially of the higher mathematics which forms their basis. At the Hague he always moved in the

best society and cultivated the friendship of the learned Professors Hemsterhus, Kœning and Allamand and other leading men in every department of science.

Instead of gambling and carousing as many military men are wont to do when off active duty, Bouquet always improved his leisure moments, by enlarging his acquisitions of knowledge. At Philadelphia he was a great favorite in the most intelligent circles and enjoyed the confidential friendship of Chief Justice Allen, Benj. Chew, the Attorney General, Dr. Wm. Smith Provost of the University and Bertram the Botanist. His tastes, like his talents, were of a high order.

#### ENTERS BRITISH SERVICE. ROYAL AMERICANS.

In 1754 war broke out between France and England on a scale that involved two continents. It was resolved to raise a corps under the name of Royal Americans consisting of four battallions each containing one thousand men. It was proposed to fill the ranks of this regiment by enlisting Protestant German and Swiss settlers in Pennsylvania and Maryland, who for the most part were unable to speak or understand the English language.

About \$400,000 was voted for this purpose by Parliament. Smollet, in speaking of these German and Swiss settlers says: "As they were all zealous Protestants and in general strong, hardy men accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French: but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers. But as this step by the Act of Settlement could not be taken without the authority of Parliament, an act was now passed for enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign Protestants who had served abroad as officers or engineers to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only."

Henry Bouquet and his intimate friend and countryman Frederick Haldiman were appointed lieutenant colonels of this Royal American Brigade, and as colonels commandant each of a thousand men were placed on an equality with the colonel-in-chief. They were allowed to select subordinate officers especially for the artillery and engineer departments, and these were chosen with rare judgment, for the most part from the lately disbanded armies of the Dutch Republic. Hence it was that such gallant soldiers and good scholars as Ecuyer, a countryman of Bouquet, obtained command in this famous regiment.

Sir Joseph Yorke major general and English minister to the Dutch Republic was mainly instrumental in the creation of this body of troops and also in securing the services of such able continental commanders as Haldiman and Bouquet. Fifty of the officers might be foreign Protestants according to the Act of Parliament, while the enlisted men were to be raised principally among the German settlers in America.

Bouquet sailed for America in the summer of 1750, the year after Braddock's disastrous defeat. Lord Loudoun was colonel of the Royal American corps and commander-in-chief of the British army in America. Like some other British officers of Colonial days he was haughty and blustering in peaceful communities, but very slow in facing the foe where actual danger and military duty called. As remarked by a friend of Franklin, Loudoun was like the figure of St. George, painted on the sign boards—always on horseback but never riding on.

#### BOUQUET GOES TO PHILADELPHIA.

Under the orders of Loudoun Bouquet first appears in Philadelphia late in the Fall of 1756, in command of 550 officers and men, consisting of a battallion of Royal Americans and two independent companies. A demand for comfortable quarters for the troops did not meet the response from the Assembly which the Governor and British officers deemed proper, and considerable bad blood was stirred up, which, under a less judicious officer than

Bouquet might have resulted disastrously to all concerned. The breach of faith on the part of the sheriff in laying the warrant for lodgings in private houses prematurely before the Assembly, almost led to a collision between the civil and military authorities. Had Londoun himself been present at Philadelphia it is probable that the sack and pillage of part of the city would have been the outcome of this dispute. During the remainder of the winter matters moved along smoothly, and Bouquet mingled in the best intellectual and social circles of the city. He was particularly intimate with the Shippen family, and formed a very tender attachment for a Miss Anne Willing, whose mother was a Shippen. He carried on a very interesting correspondence with this young lady, even amid the cares and turmoils of the camp, verifying in a measure the sentiment of the old Castillian song.

"Tis the spirit most gallant in war  
That is fondest and truest in love."

In May, 1757, Bouquet was ordered to South Carolina with a detachment of Royal Americans. In September he wrote that his men were fast dying of the fever, and he seemed anxious for a more healthy location. In a quarrel that arose between Governor Lyttleton and the Assembly of South Carolina, Bancroft tells us that Bouquet successfully acted the part of a conciliator.

#### FORBES' EXPEDITION AND DISPUTE WITH WASHINGTON.

Military matters were in a very lethargic state in America during 1756 and 1757, until William Pitt took the reins with a master hand and a giant's grasp. A change soon came over the face of affairs. New Jersey, New York and New England were to assist in Northern campaigns against the French. Pennsylvania and the more Southern colonies were to aid in the conquest of the West, and finish the work in which Braddock so miserably failed three years previous. England was to provide arms, ammunition and tents, and even in the end, reimburse the colonies for all other expenses. With this expectation Pennsylvania went into the the campaign of 1758 with great earnestness

and furnished 2,700 men for the expedition against Fort Duquesne.

General John Forbes, a brave and meritorious Scotch officer, was placed in command.

Bouquet was re-called from South Carolina with his Royal Americans and given charge of the First Division, while Colonel George Washington had command of the Second Division, Virginia having furnished 2,600 troops for the campaign. Bouquet was at Fort Bedford early in July, with a part of the forces in advance of the main army. Washington was at Fort Cumberland, 30 or 40 miles south of Bedford. July 25, he wrote Bouquet, earnestly advising that the expedition should advance at once by the Braddock road from Cumberland, instead of delaying to cut a road through the wilderness of Pennsylvania to Fort Duquesne. But Bouquet did not see it in that light. He thought that a new road was demanded by the exigencies of the situation. As a military necessity, and on account of other important considerations, he proposed to cut one by as short and direct a route as possible to the Loyalhannah creek. Washington bitterly opposed this, and some very sharp correspondence ensued on the subject. Bouquet's motives have been impugned by some writers, and it has been asserted by Hildreth that the choice was made in the interest of Pennsylvania land speculators. But he adduces no evidence to prove his assertion. It is enough to know that Bouquet's route was nearly fifty miles shorter from Bedford to Duquesne than the Cumberland route. This would commend it in a military point of view, and the subsequent course of events fully vindicated the wisdom of Bouquet in selecting it in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Father of our Country. Great and good as Washington was, or afterwards became, he was still human, and, as an ardent Virginian, looked with a jealous eye upon any project that would tend to rob Virginia of her wonted prestige. His two older brothers were members of the Ohio Land Company, whose interests were at stake in this affair. Besides the monopoly of the Indian fur traffic would pass from the hands of Virginia traders, if a more direct and rival route

were opened up through the province of Pennsylvania to the headwaters of the Ohio. Selfish considerations are just as likely to have influenced the one side as the other. When we recollect the long contest for the Monongahela region and a large part of Westmoreland county as originally constituted, reaching through the dark days of the Revolution, even after the new road was made, we need not wonder at the jealousy and opposition of Virginians to any project or enterprise that would in the least jeopardize their supremacy in that coveted locality.

Washington could not yield the point with a very good grace. He predicted defeat and disaster to the expedition. September 1, he writes "All is dwindled into ease, sloth and fatal inactivity. Nothing but a miracle can bring the campaign to a happy issue." Bouquet convinced Forbes that the proposed new route was preferable, and Col. James Burd was sent forward to cut a way through the forest and erect a stockade at Loyalhannah. Col. Armstrong, who was a captain in this expedition, wrote under date of Raystown, (Bedford) October 3, 1758, to Richard Peters "The general (Forbes) came here at a critical and seasonable juncture ; he is weak but his spirit is good and his head clear, firmly determined to proceed as far as force and provisions will admit, which through divine favor will be far enough. \* \* \* \* \*

The Virginians are much chagrined at the opening of the road through this government, and Col. Washington has been a good deal sanguine and obstinate upon the occasion ; but the presence of the general (Forbes) has been of great use on this as well as other accounts. \* \* \*

Col. Bouquet is a very sensible and useful man ; notwithstanding had not the general come up the consequences would have been dangerous. \* \* \* \* \*

I leave this place to-day as does Col. Bouquet and some pieces of artillery."

Bouquet gave very careful instructions to Col. Burd not to beat a drum or fire an unnecessary shot while cutting the road through the forest. In silence but with energetic dispatch the work was pushed forward. Nor did Bouquet neglect to drill his troops and keep them well in hand

for the kind of fighting needed to cope with the denizens of the woods. "Every afternoon he exercises his men in the woods and bushes in a particular manner of his own invention which will be of great service in an engagement with the Indians," is what Joseph Shippen wrote to his father from Bedford.

In a letter to Chief Justice Allen, written on the day of arrival at Fort Duquesne, November 25, 1758, Bouquet attributes the success of the expedition in great part to the adoption of his route. Besides being much nearer Philadelphia, the base of supplies, the route secured the favor and co-operation of the Pennsylvania German farmers on whom he had to depend for transportation and who would have been unwilling to leave their own province to follow the longer Braddock road. This contest was the beginning of the struggle for commercial supremacy which, with varying fortunes, has gone forward ever since and which now finds its leading champions in the Pennsylvania Central and Baltimore and Ohio railroads. While we would not detract one iota from the fame and merits of Washington, and feel that under the circumstances it was quite natural for him to contend for what was manifestly the interest of Virginia and the Ohio land company, we yet must say that the logic of events fully vindicated the course of Bouquet and Forbes in cutting a short and direct road to Fort Duquesne.

As Pennsylvanians, at least, we should feel thankful to the firm and sagacious man who did so much to open up the western part of our state to settlement and put matters in the best possible shape for military defence along the borders. It was hard and slow work to open a wagon track through the dense forests and over towering mountains, but with an army of over 6,000 men, including many frontiersmen and woodsmen, now was the time to have it done if the campaign was to be a complete success. Historians agree that thus twenty years were gained in the settlement of Western Pennsylvania. Forbes was a man of courage and sterling merit, and the fact that a commander such as he endorsed the Loyalhannah route, is strong proof and presumption that Bouquet had the better

cause and better argument over against his indignant colleague, even the great and good Washington.

It is very probable, however, that this dispute may have contributed to the neglect or disparagement of Bouquet by biographers and historians, whose great object was to glorify the Father of our Country and present him as a hero and a sage under all circumstances, before as well as during and after the War of Independence.

Forbes was a lion hearted old Scotchman. Weak and emaciated in body but dauntless in spirit, he had himself conveyed through the wilderness on a litter between two horses. He reached Bedford September 15, but remained there six weeks waiting for the opening of the road. November 1, he arrived at the Loyalhannah. A stockade had been erected here by the road building party under Col. Burd by direction of Col. Bouquet. This had been assailed by the French and Indians, who made a determined sortie from Fort Duquesne to surprise and cut off the advance guard and pioneers before the main body could come up to their relief. But the assault was repulsed and in consequence the Indians became discouraged and left for their forest homes. A reconnoitering party of 800, mostly Highlanders under Maj. Grant had previously pushed forward from the Loyalhannah, and had gained possession of a hill in the rear of the Fort, but with strange infatuation they failed to improve their advantages and opportunities. Failing to advance and surprise the garrison and making an ostentatious display they were soon surrounded by the French and Indians who shot down their huddled ranks from behind trees and ravines like so many sheep. Grant's Hill, in the centre of Pittsburg, marks the scene of this disastrous affray. A stand made by Col. Lewis with Provincial troops prevented the annihilation of the impracticable Scotch officer and his Highlanders who seemed to have learned nothing from Braddock's disaster or Bouquet's discipline. De Lignery cruelly gave up five of the prisoners captured in the route to be burned at the stake by the Indians and allowed the remainder to be tomahawked in cold blood on the parade ground of the fort.

Washington was directed to open the last fifty miles of the road between the Loyalhannah and Fort Duquesne. On the 24th of November, 1758, Forbes and his army were encamped at Turtle Creek, near the scene of Braddock's defeat three years before.

Provisions, forage, &c., were so nearly exhausted that some advised a retreat, but the "iron-headed" old Scotchman, as Forbes was called, would listen to no such talk, but announced his intention of sleeping in the fort on the next night. That same evening a great smoke was seen ascending in the direction of the fort, and at midnight the camp was startled by the jar of a great explosion. The French had evacuated the post and had set fire to the magazine. They resolved to destroy what they despaired of defending. The last of their troops had embarked in boats and were seen hurrying down the Ohio as the British army approached.

The Highlanders were infuriated by the sight of the heads of slaughtered countrymen impaled on stakes along the race course as they neared the fort. These were victims of Grant's defeat. As one has said who was present, "foaming like mad boars, engaged in battle, they rushed madly on with hope to find an enemy on whom to accomplish retribution." But the detested foe was gone, and gone forever was French power and prestige at the forks of the Ohio. A square stockade was built and placed in charge of Colonel Hugh Mercer with 200 men. Next year a fort was at considerable cost erected on the ruins of the old fort by General Stanwix and named Fort Pitt, in honor of the English statesman, whose energetic policy had secured British supremacy in the New World. Pittsburgh was laid out at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. As early as April 1761, there were 162 houses, 221 men, 73 women and 38 children in the young town of Pittsburgh, according to the returns made to Colonel Bouquet.

The capture of Fort Duquesne and the opening of the new road, proved as great a blessing to the people of Pennsylvania as Bouquet and his friends had predicted. The army speedily returned to their homes. Forbes was

borne to Philadelphia, where he died a few weeks later, and was buried with great honor in Christ church.

The following extract from a letter to his lady friend at Philadelphia, written on the day of the army's arrival at the fort, shows the high estimate in which Bouquet held his hoary-headed chief :

FORT DUQUESNE, Nov. 25, 1758.

DEAR NANCY.—I have the satisfaction to announce to you the agreeable news of the conquest of this terrible fort. The French, seized with a panic at our approach, have destroyed themselves;—that nest of Pirates which has so long harboured the murderers and destructors of our people. They have burned and destroyed to the ground their fortifications, houses and magazines, and left us no other cover than the heavens—a very cold one for an army without tents and equipages. We bear all this hardship with alacrity, by the consideration of the immense advantage of this important acquisition. The glory of our success must, after God, be allowed to our general, who, from the beginning, took those wise measures which deprived the French of their chief strength, and by a treaty at Easton kept such a number of Indians idle during the whole campaign and procured a peace with those inveterate enemies more necessary and beneficial than the driving of the French from the Ohio. His prudence in all his measures in the numberless difficulties he had to surmount deserves the highest praises.

#### BOUQUET IN COMMAND.

Bouquet was now in command and by judicious conferences with the Delaware Indians and energetic management, he soon restored peace and tranquility to the borders, so that the pioneer settlers met with little disturbance during the remainder of the French war. Four thousand settlers, who had left their homes in terror during the past few years, in consequence of the ravages that succeeded the defeat of Braddock and the cowardly retreat of Dunbar, now returned. Bouquet, with his Royal Americans, garrisoned the forts and posts, reaching from Philadelphia via Carlisle, Bedford, Fort Pitt, Lake Erie, Sandusky, &c. to Detroit. This regiment, largely composed of recruits from the German and Swiss settlers of Pennsylvania and

Maryland, as we have seen, held the outposts of civilization in the midst of savage beasts and savage men for seven years. Communication was kept up largely by express riders, who, taking their lives in their hands, rode rapidly from post to post.

#### BYERLY AT BUSHY RUN.

Andrew Byerly was induced to establish a relay station for these express riders at Bushy Run, midway between Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier. He received a grant of several hundred acres of land from Col. Bouquet and the proprietary government, on which he erected buildings suitable for his purpose. Here, with his second wife and a young and growing family, he settled down in the midst of the wilderness, at the end of the Penn Manor, intending to carve out a home for his children.

He cultivated friendly relations with the surrounding Indians and was soon well established, with a valuable herd of milk cows and other comforts of civilization. Here Bouquet spent many a pleasant hour in his trips to and from Fort Pitt. Ecuyer was also on friendly terms with the family. Mrs. Byerly, whose maiden name was Beatrice Guldin, had emigrated from the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland, the home of Bouquet. They often conversed about the lakes and the Alps, and friends in the far away land of their nativity, and contrasted those peaceful scenes and associations with the rough experiences of pioneer life in the new world. Byerly was a baker by profession, and seems always to have been a favorite with military men. He had erected one of the very first inns ever built in Lancaster, Pa., where he resided for a long while and buried his first wife. He had baked for Braddock's array at Fort Cumberland; and, backed by Maj. George Washington, had beaten a Catawba warrior in a foot race, on a wager of thirty shillings, which was intended to test the relative prowess and fleetness of the two races. Afterwards he removed to Fort Bedford, where he baked for the British garrison and where his son Jacob, a great-grand-father of the writer, was born in 1760. The

garrison being small, it was not long before he located at Bushy Run, by the special favor and protection of Col. Bouquet, on a very desirable grant along the Forbes road. The letters, written during this interval of garrison duty, from Fort Pitt, Bedford, Lancaster, &c., to his lady friend in Philadelphia, show how irksome a life of inactivity was to this man of action and of thought, and how Bouquet felt isolated among the rude soldiers and uncouth frontiersmen with whom he came in daily contact. As one who knew him well has written, "He was a man of science and sense." He delighted to associate with people of intelligence and culture. He had no tastes for the vulgar pastimes and pursuits that usually occupy the time and attention of military men, when off duty, among a rude population.

Bouquet was always a welcome guest and visitor at Byerly Station, on Bushy Run, and here he seemed to unbend himself amid congenial social surroundings. His name and memory has always been cherished in the Byerly family as a precious heirloom—as a sacred legacy handed down with the benedictions of a pious and grateful ancestress.

#### PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

The reign of peace and prosperity, which was causing the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose, came to a sudden close in the spring of 1763. The French garrisons had been driven out of Canada and all their forts and posts along the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, the Ohio, the Illinois and the Mississippi had fallen into the hands of the English as a result of the capture of Fort Duquesne and Quebec. The Indians lamented the change and their spirit of discontent was fanned into a flame by disappointed French traders who led the credulous savages to believe that the great king of France would soon drive out the English and recover his lost dominion. Their easy social habits and greater tendency to enter into matrimonial relations always made the French special favorites with the red man and his daughters.

Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas on the shores of

Lake Michigan, became the powerful exponent and champion of the spirit of hostility against the English.

He was indeed a remarkable man. He originally belonged to the Catawba Indians. Having been captured when a child and adopted by the Ottawas, he became not only the war chief but also the Sachem, or civil ruler, of his tribe by force of superior courage and ability.

He led a band of Ottawas and bore a leading part in the defeat of Braddock in 1755, along with Charles Langlade and other Lake Indians. The conduct of the British troops on that occasion caused him to have great contempt for the red coats, and he fancied that with one bold push they might be driven east of the mountains, if not into the sea. With great craft and secrecy he laid his plans to surprise all the English forts and posts east of the mountains and massacre their Royal American garrisons. Pontiac was a born leader and had that magnetism and force of character that fitted him for the difficult and dangerous role that he resolved to play in order to restore the supremacy of the red men on the American continent. War belts had been sent among the different tribes and a general willingness manifested to unite in one mighty effort to exterminate the English. Kiashuta or Guyasutha, a head chief of the Senecas, marshalled a part of the Five Nations to unite with the Delawares and neighboring tribes in destroying the garrison at Fort Pitt and the smaller posts in Western Pennsylvania. But Pontiac was the leading spirit of the general movement. April 27, 1763, he held a great council on the banks of the river Ecores, near Detroit. With fierce gestures and loud, impassioned voice he denounced the English for their injustice, rapacity and arrogance. He compared and contrasted their conduct with that of the French who had always treated them as brothers. He exclaimed "the red coats have conquered the French but they have not conquered us. We are not slaves or squaws, and as long as the Great Spirit is ruler we will maintain our rights. These lakes and these woods were given us by our fathers, and we will part with them only with our lives." He assured the council that their great father, the King of France, would soon come to their aid to win back Canada, and wreak vengeance on his enemies.

"The Indians and their French brethren would fight once more side by side as they had always fought; they would strike the English as they had struck them many moons ago, when their great army marched down the Monongahela, and they had shot them from ambush like a flock of pigeons in the woods."

The eloquence of Pontiac, backed by the harangues of other chiefs, carried everything before it. It was agreed that a deadly blow should be struck at all the forts in the following month. Eighteen nations, or leading Indian tribes, entered into the conspiracy of which Pontiac was the head centre. The adopted Catawba lad, far from his native haunts, had become the master spirit of his race. His bugle call rallied the dusky sons of the forest from the Mississippi to the Alleghanies in one fierce phalanx of savage hostility to the red-coated British. Different parts were assigned to different leaders. The general plan was to surprise and capture the garrison and destroy the forts in the neighborhood of the respective tribes and then fall like a tornado upon the defenceless settlements with fire and tomahawk.

So well kept was the secret that the storm of war came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. Nine forts and posts were captured by strategem or assault, and their garrisons for the most part massacred. Thus fared Le Bœuff, Venango, Presque Isle on Lake Erie, Le Bay on Lake Michigan, St. Joseph's, Miami, Ouachtanon, Sandusky and Machinaw. These, with the larger and stronger forts of Detroit, Niagara and Fort Pitt, were all attacked at about the same time.

#### SIEGE OF DETROIT.

The most difficult task of all, the capture of Detroit, Pontiac took in hand himself. And, no doubt, he would have succeeded at once had not his plans been betrayed by an Indian maiden to Major Gladwyn, who was in command of that important stronghold. He was forced to the alternative of a regular siege, in which he displayed wonderful fertility of resources. Several parties sent to the

relief of the besieged garrison were surprised and cut off. Vessels were boarded by the savages from their canoes; immense fire rafts were floated down the river to destroy the ships of the English. The impetuous Dalzell, a friend of Putnam, and an aid of Amherst, heading a sortie or night attack upon the forces of Pontiac, was himself ambuscaded and slain with fifty-eight of his men. A thousand warriors surrounded the fort at Detroit, but Major Gladwyn had 300 good soldiers in the fort, and was protected by armed vessels at anchor on the river front. Pontiac's greatest difficulty was in securing provisions for such an immense horde of savages. A currency of birch bark with Pontiac's stamp was employed in obtaining supplies from neutral French settlers and neighboring tribes. To his lasting honor let it be recorded that Pontiac saw to it that every piece of birch bark that bore his sign-manual was fully redeemed after the war. Not a few white individuals and communities are put to shame by the integrity, sacrifice and fidelity of the great Ottawa chieftain. He had the vices of his race, no doubt, to some extent, but their noblest virtues of courage, patience, fortitude, honesty and magnanimity were well illustrated in his character. Had he succeeded in reducing Detroit and precipitating his vast horde of besiegers upon Fort Pitt, there is little doubt but that it would have fallen and the English been driven to the sea.

Fortunately for the provinces, the great leader of the conspiracy was foiled and detained in his efforts to capture Detroit until Bouquet had routed his Eastern Confederates on the bloody field at Bushy Run, after the best contested Indian battle ever fought in the wilds of America.

#### SIEGE OF FORT PITT AND LIGONIER.

And now let us turn to this, the main object of our sketch. As intimated before, the Indian uprising of 1763 was a great surprise to the military and civic authorities of the land. It is true that there were signs of outbreak, but nobody dreamed that it would assume such vast proportions and be fraught with such direful consequences. The

traders, who are supposed to understand Indian character and intentions better than any other class, were mostly caught in the whirlwind of disaster and overwhelmed by the suddenness of the outbreak. It was stated in the journals of that day that over one hundred traders lost their lives, and that property lost by them among the Indians or taken at the capture of the interior posts amounted to about two and a-half millions of dollars. So great a loss seems hardly possible. Fort Pitt at this time was in charge of Captain Simeon Ecuyer, a brave and skillful Swiss officer, like Bouquet himself.

On the 4th of May, 1763, he wrote Bouquet that "Maj. Gladwyn writes to me that I am surrounded by rascals. He complains a great deal of the Delawares and Shawanoes. It is this *canaille* who stir up the rest to mischief." On the 27th a party of Indians encamped near the fort and offered to trade a great quantity of valuable furs for bullets, hatchets, gunpowder, &c. They were looked upon with suspicion. On the 29th of May Ecuyer wrote an important letter to Bouquet, which seems to have been about the last that got through before communication was cut off; for on the 17th of June Lieutenant Blane, commanding at Fort Ligonier wrote Bouquet that he had heard nothing from Fort Pitt since May 30. No further tidings were received until Bouquet cut his way through in August.

The following is Captain Ecuyer's letter in full, a copy of which, in the original French, as well as an English translation, has been kindly furnished the writer by Francis Parkman, the historian of Pontiac, &c.

FORT PITT, May 29, 1763.

SIR.—A large party of Mingoes arrived at the beginning of the month and gave up to us ten horses of poor quality. They asked me for presents, but I refused everything they had to offer except eight *merits* of Indian corn, (i. e.: 24 bushels, C. C.,) which they planted opposite Crogans' house, where they have built a town. In the evening of the day before yesterday, Mr. McKee reported to me that the Mingoes and Delawares were in motion, and had sold in a great hurry skins to the value of £300., with which they bought as much powder and lead as they pleased. Yesterday I sent him to their towns to get information, but he

found them entirely abandoned, and followed their trail and so certain that they have gone down the river, which makes me think that they want to interrupt our boats and close the passage against us. They stole three horses and a cask of rum at Bushy Run. They even robbed a man named Coleman of £50, (on the Bedford road,) holding their guns against his body. I am assured that the famous Wolfe and Butler were the chiefs; it is clear that they want to break with us. I pity the poor people on the communication. I am at work to put this post in the best position possible with the few people I have. Just as I was finishing my letter, three men came from Clapham's with the melancholy news that yesterday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians murdered Clapham and everybody in his house. These three men were at work outside and escaped through the woods. I gave them arms and sent them to aid our people at Bushy Run. The Indians have told Byerly (at Bushy Run) to leave his house within four days, or he and all his family would be murdered. I tremble for the small posts. As for this one, I will answer for it.

S. ECUYER.

If you do not often get letters from me, it will be a proof that the communication is cut.

*To Colonel Bouquet.*

From this time until the tenth of August, the garrison was cooped up in the fort, and communications cut off.

#### THE FLIGHT OF THE BYERLYS TO FORT LIGONIER.

Let us take another look at Bushy Run before we dwell upon the siege of Fort Pitt.

As Ecuyer states, Byerly had received warning, but his family was in no condition to be moved. Mrs. Byerly had just been confined and the departure was delayed as long as possible, indeed until certain death was imminent if the flight should be any longer postponed. Byerly had gone with a small party (perhaps Clapham's men referred to above) to bury some persons who had been killed at some distance from his station. A friendly Indian who had often received a bowl of milk and bread from Mrs. Byerly came to the house after dark and informed the family that they would all be killed if they did not make their escape before daylight. Mrs. Byerly got up from her sick couch and wrote the tidings on the door of the

house for the information of her husband when he should return. A horse was saddled on which the mother with her tender babe three days old in her arms was placed, and a child not two years old was fastened behind her.

Michael Byerly was a good sized lad, but Jacob was only three years old and had a painful stone bruise on one of his feet. With the aid of his older brother who held him by the hand and sometimes carried him on his back, the little fellow, however, managed to make good time through the wilderness to Fort Ligonier about thirty miles distant. But although he reached his ninety-ninth year he never forgot that race for life in his childhood, nor did he feel like giving quarters to hostile Indians, one of whom he killed on an island in the Alleghany in a fight under Lieutenant Hardin in 1779, although the savage begged for quarters.

Milk cows were highly prized by frontier families in those days, and the Byerly family made a desperate effort to coax and drive their small herd along to Fort Ligonier. But the howling savages got so close that they were obliged to leave the cattle in the woods to be destroyed by the Indians. Byerly in some way eluded the Indians and joined his family in the retreat. They barely escaped with their lives. The first night they spent in the stockade, and in the morning the bullets of the pursuers struck the gates as the family pressed into the fort. Here they were compelled to remain two months, exposed to great privations and repeated assaults of Indians. Fort Pitt would have been nearer and preferable as a place of safety had it been possible to reach it. As it was they had to choose the longer road and the weaker fort as the only chance of escape from the red demons. At Fort Pitt Capt. Ecuyer put everything in the best possible shape for defence. The garrison consisted of 330 soldier, traders and backwoodsmen, who were armed and drilled for the emergency. There were also about one hundred women in the fort and a still greater number of children.

"A hospital was constructed under the drawbridge, out of range of musket shot, for patients suffering from small-pox, and the captain was very apprehensive that disease

would break out in epidemic form as a result of the overcrowded condition of the fort. He seemed to have no fear of losing the fort. A letter, written at the time, says, "we are in such a good posture of defence that with God's assistance we can defend it against a thousand Indians."

Careful preparation was made for an attack. Buildings outside of the ramparts were levelled to the ground, and every morning at an hour before dawn the drum beat and the troops were ordered to their alarm posts. A heavy guard was kept on duty night and day. "I am determined to hold my post, spare my men and never expose them without necessity. This is what I think you require of me," wrote the brave and judicious Ecuyer to Bouquet. It was next thing to death to expose a head on the ramparts, or to wander outside the fortification. Lurking savages were at hand to pick off the unwary.

On the 25th of June, the Indians captured a lot of horses and cattle, belonging to the fort. A general fire was then opened on the fort from all sides. A discharge of howitzers threw them into confusion and made them act more cautiously. Next morning, Turtle Heart, a Delaware chief, approached the fort in the guise of friendship, and advised the commander and garrison to withdraw and take the women and children down to the English settlements, in order to escape destruction from the six great nations of Indians, who were coming to destroy them. He promised that they would be protected in making their escape. This was the ruse by which so many traders and smaller posts had been deceived and finally treacherously murdered after they had given up their arms. But Ecuyer was not to be caught with such chaff. He replied in a very ironical way, thanking the Delaware brothers for their great kindness, and assuring them that he and his troops could hold the fort against all the Indians that dared to attack it. "We are very well off in this place, and we mean to stay," said he. He then told them in confidence that two great armies were coming, one from the East and the other from the Lakes, to destroy the bad Indians, while the Cherokees and Catawbias, their old enemies,

were joining a third army in Virginia to destroy them. This speech seemed to have a demoralizing effect upon the savages, who withdrew for a season to meet a large body of warriors approaching from the west. During this interval Ensign Price, from Fort Le Boeuf, entered Fort Pitt with his command of a dozen men, who had gallantly defended their little post until it was in flames from burning arrows and had then cut their way out of the rear and escaped after great peril and suffering. The names of this detachment of Royal Americans, as far as given, indicate their German descent, viz. : Fisher, Nash, Dogood, Nigley, Dortinger and Trunk. Captain Ecuyer strengthened his defences with a line of palisades, and constructed a rude fire engine to extinguish flames caused by the burning arrows of the Indians shot against the sides and roofs of wooden buildings. July 26, a small party of Indians came to parley, under the lead of Shingas and Turtle Heart. They professed great affection for the whites, and great concern for their safety. The Ottawas were coming in great force from Detroit to destroy the garrison, and they begged their white brothers to depart while it could be done in safety. Ecuyer replied that he could defend the fort for three years against all the Indians in the woods, and that he would never abandon it as long as a white man lived in America. He despised the Ottawas, and warned his Delaware brothers to keep out of reach of his bombshells and cannon loaded with a whole bag full of bullets. Thwarted in their crafty and treacherous schemes by which they had succeeded in destroying Lieutenant Gordon and his entire command at Venango, the Indians began a general attack in earnest. Many of them dug holes in the river banks, from which to fire on the fort, and from all sides bullets and arrows flew thick and fast. The Royal Americans and border riflemen from their loopholes drew a bead on every Indian that exposed his person in the least. Ecuyer was wounded in the leg by an arrow, but kept up the hopes and spirits of his men, while at the same time he refused to let them sally forth to engage in a hand to hand conflict with the savages, as many of them proposed to do. The attack lasted five

days and five nights. Ecuyer speaks with great admiration of the conduct of his men—"regulars and the rest." "I am fortunate to have the honor of commanding such brave men. I only wish the Indians had ventured an assault. They would have remembered it to the thousandth generation." Bouquet wrote General Amherst, August 11, in terms of high praise of Ecuyer for the defence of the fort and the important additions made to the fortifications during the investment.

In various letters, written from the fort immediately after the siege was raised, it is stated that "to a man they were resolved to defend the position (if the troops had not arrived) as long as any ammunition and provisions to support them was left; and that then they would have fought their way through or died in the attempt, rather than have been made prisoners by such perfidious, cruel and blood-thirsty hell-hounds. Some of the women in the fort, it is said, helped to defend the place. Many express-riders going to and from the garrison have been killed."

#### DEFENCE OF FORT LIGONIER

At Fort Ligonier matters were even more critical than at Fort Pitt. The stockade was bad and the garrison extremely weak but Byerly and a few other frontier settlers had made their way into it with their families and helped to repulse the assaults of the savages. Lieutenant Archibald Blane with a detachment of Royal Americans was in command, and conducted the defense with great courage and practical tact.

On the 4th of June Blane writes: "Thursday last my garrison was attacked by a body of Indians, about five in the morning; but as they only fired upon us from the skirts of the woods, I contented myself with giving them three cheers, without spending a single shot upon them. But as they still continued their popping upon the side next to the town, I sent the sergeant of the Royal Americans with a proper detachment to fire the houses, which effectually disappointed them in their plan."

On the 17th, he writes to Bouquet, "I hope soon to see

yourself and live in daily hopes of a reinforcement. \* \* Sunday last a man straggling out was killed by the Indians. \* \* I believe the communication between Fort Pitt and this place is entirely cut off, not having heard from them since the thirtieth of May, though two expresses have gone from Bedford to that post." On the 21st the Indians made a serious attack for two hours. A small party of fifteen men were so exceedingly anxious to have a closer tilt with the savages that the lieutenant finally yielded to their entreaties to let them out to attack some Indians that showed themselves at a little distance. As it turned out this was only a decoy to entrap them. About a hundred savages lay in ambush by the side of the creek about four hundred yards from the fort; and just as the party was returning near where they lay, the savages rushed out to cut them off and would have succeeded in doing so had it not been for a deep morass which intervened. Foiled in this movement, more by natural obstacles than by the judgment or sagacity of the whites, the Indians immediately began an attack upon the fort and fired upwards of a thousand shots without doing any special damage.

Bouquet was deeply concerned for the safety of Fort Ligonier, for on its preservation depended the safety of Fort Pitt and his own army of deliverance. A large quantity of military stores were in the magazines at Ligonier, with which the Indians might have blown up Fort Pitt or reduced Bouquet's troops to the greatest extremities. A picked party of thirty Highlanders was sent by a circuitous route through the woods traveling by night at their utmost speed under the escort of experienced guides. They got close to the fort without being discovered and then by a sudden rush and a running fight they managed to get in without losing a man. This was a timely relief and ensured the safety of the post until the main body could arrive.

Next to Ligonier in the line of communication came Fort Bedford, at a distance of fifty miles across the mountains and through the wilderness. Captain Lewis Ourry was in command here with a mere handful of Royal Americans. On the third of June he wrote Bouquet that owing

to the arrival of express riders, ( who were generally soldiers sent from one post to another at the peril of their lives,) his regulars were increased to "three corporals and nine privates." But he had a large body of settlers who, frightened by depredations of the Indians in the neighborhood, rushed pell-mell to the fort. These he organized into two military companies, aggregating 150 men. Over one hundred families had sought refuge at the fort. When the scare was over for the time being the silly people would venture out in small squads, and many were thus cut off and slain by scalping parties of skulking savages. June seventh he writes, "I long to see my Indian scouts come in with intelligence; but I long more to hear the Grenadiers march and see more red-coats." Ten days later the country people in fancied security had returned to their plantation so that Ourry was left alone with a garrison of only twelve Royal Americans, who had not only to guard the fort but likewise take care of seven Indian prisoners. He writes to Bouquet: "I should be very glad to see some troops come to my assistance. A fort with five bastions cannot be guarded much less defended by a dozen men, but I hope God will protect us." The killing and scalping of some families on Denning's creek threw the settlers into a panic again, and in a few days the militia were back from their farms and with difficulty could be prevented from murdering the Indian prisoners. Ourry feared that the Indians, despairing of taking Fort Pitt, would fall upon and destroy the smaller posts and ravage the settlements, which they doubtless would have done had Bouquet's advance been much longer delayed. July 2d, about twenty Indians attacked a party of mowers and killed several of them. Eighteen persons in all were killed near Fort Bedford. July 3, Ourry received word from Blane of the loss of Presque Isle on Lake Erie, Leboeuf, Venango, &c., which he sends to Bouquet with the intimation that Blane had entertained some idea of evacuating or capitulating Fort Ligonier. Bouquet replied: "I shivered when you hinted to me Lieut. Bl—'s intentions. Death and infamy would have been the reward he would expect instead of the honor he has obtained by his

prudence, courage and resolution. \* \* This is a most trying time. \* \* You may be sure that all the expedition possible will be used for the relief of the few remaining posts."

Parkman remarks on the above letter : " Bouquet had the strongest reason for wishing that Fort Ligonier should hold out. As the event showed its capture would probably have entailed the defeat and destruction of his entire command."

#### THE SITUATION AT CARLISLE.

Bouquet had his headquarters in Philadelphia as Colonel of the first battallion of Royal Americans at the time of the outbreak of Pontiac and his confederates. His Royal Americans, broken into detachments, had held the line of forts and posts between that place and Detroit for over six years. As military hermits they held the outposts of civilization in the Western wilderness. Bouquet, as we have seen, was held in high esteem in Philadelphia.

He was in the prime of life, had a fine personal presence, splendid physique and extraordinary qualities of mind and heart. " Firmness, integrity, calmness, presence of mind in the greatest of dangers—virtues so essential to a commander, were natural to him. His presence inspired confidence and impressed respect, encouraged his friends and confounded his foes." Such is the estimate given of Bouquet by some of the best men of the provinces who knew him well. He promptly reported the situation to General Amherst as Ecuyer had informed him in letters written at the end of May. The haughty and arrogant Briton could not believe that the despicable savages would be so audacious as to besiege his forts or attack regular troops of equal numbers with their own. It is amusing to read his brag and bluster and to mark the change which in some respects seems to come over the spirit of his dream as the campaign progresses.

Bouquet evidently knew his weak and strong points and knew how to secure his hearty co-operation in measures necessary to the success of the beleaguered garrisons.

June 23, Amherst ordered Major Campbell to proceed at once from New York to Philadelphia with the remains of the 42d Regiment of Royal Highlanders, and of the 77th Montgomery's Highlanders; the first consisting of two hundred and fourteen men, including officers, and the latter of one hundred and thirty-three. These troops had just landed from the West Indies and were in a very emaciated condition, most of them really unfit for service. The remains of five more such regiments arrived from Havana July 29, numbering in all nine hundred and eighty-two men and officers fit for duty; but by this time Bouquet was beyond Fort Bedford. Amherst seemed incapable of comprehending the magnitude of the danger.

"If you think it necessary," he writes to Bouquet "you will yourself proceed to Fort Pitt and you may be better enabled to put in execution the requisite orders for securing the communication and reducing the Indians to reason." Bouquet was not the man to shirk duty or danger in such a crisis. With all the energy of his ardent and indomitable nature he threw himself into the work of preparing an expedition for the relief of the invested forts and the exposed frontiers. He sent forward orders for the collection of stores and transportation at Carlisle as soon as the outlook became serious.

After making the necessary arrangements at Philadelphia, he hastened toward Carlisle. At Lancaster he writes to Amherst expressing confidence in his ability to open up communication with the troops sent to his assistance.

Amherst replies "I wish to hear of no prisoners, should any of the villains be met with in arms." On the 3d of July Bouquet received what he calls the "fatal account of the loss of our posts at Presque Isle, Leboeuf and Venango." The express rider who brought the message from Bedford came through in one day. He told the disastrous news to the country people who flocked about him and remarked, as he rode towards Bouquet's tent, "the Indians will be here soon."

All was consternation and alarm. Word was sent out to the settlements and soon every road was filled with panic-stricken fugitives crowding into Carlisle. The In

dians were raiding through the Juniata regions and along the borders of the Cumberland valley. A scouting party found Shearman's valley laid waste, the dwellings and stacked grain on fire, and swine devouring the bodies of slaughtered settlers. Twelve young men went to warn the people of the Tuscarora valley. They found the work of ruin in full blast already and fell into an ambush in which they were nearly all killed.

The country between the mountains and the Susquehanna was abandoned. Two thousand families left their homes and fled to the forts and larger towns for protection.

A letter written from Carlisle, July 5, 1763, gives us an idea of the terrible panic which existed. "Nothing could exceed the terror which prevailed from house to house and from town to town. The road was near covered with women and children flying to Lancaster and Philadelphia. The Rev.——, pastor of the Episcopal church, went at the head of his congregation to protect and encourage them on the way. A few retired to the breastworks for safety. The alarm once given could not be appeased. We have done all that men can do to prevent disorder. All our hopes are turned upon Bouquet." Instead of finding supplies at hand for his troops and for the relief of the forts, Bouquet found a vast crowd of despairing and starving people, while crops were being burnt and mills destroyed on all sides. July 13th, Bouquet wrote Amherst from Carlisle as follows :

"The list of the people, known to be killed, increases very fast every hour. The desolation of so many families reduced to the last extremity of want and misery ; the despair of those who have lost their parents, relations and friends, with cries of distracted women and children who fill the streets—form a scene painful to humanity and impossible to describe." To procure provisions, horses and wagons under the circumstances was indeed a herculean task.

A few friendly Indians at the fort he with difficulty saved from the fury of the mob of rustics. Instead of helping him forward the settlers were rather a drawback and incumbrance, and had to be fed from the public crib.

## THE MARCH TO BEDFORD.

However, in 18 days after his arrival at Carlisle, by judicious and energetic measures, a convoy was procured and the army set out on its perilous march.

His entire force did not exceed 500 men, of whom the most effective were the 42d Highlanders. Sixty of the 77th regiment were so weak that they had to be conveyed in wagons. They were intended for garrison duty at Bedford &c., while effective men at those forts were to join the army of deliverance. The bare-legged Highlanders with their kilts and plaids, and their infirm appearance, gave little assurance to the anxious people who watched their departure.

The fate of Braddock a few years previous had not been forgotten, nor the desolation and despair that ensued. Nearly twice as many English troops had been slain on that fatal day as Bouquet had in his entire command, while the Indians that now infested the woods were far more numerous than those who routed the proudest of the Britons eight years previous.

At Shippensburg, as at Carlisle, a great crowd of starving people were found, who had fled from the tomahawk and scalping knife. "On July 25, 1763 there were in Shippensburg 1384 of our poor distressed back inhabitants, viz: 301 men, 345 women and 738 children, many of whom were obliged to lie in barns, stables, cellars and under old leaky sheds, the dwelling houses being all crowded," says the chronicles of those days. In such a state of affairs it would seem that the provincial authorities and frontiers-men themselves would have united in one grand effort to drive out the savage destroyers of life and property. But Bouquet could get little or no aid from that quarter. A suicidal Quaker policy pervaded the civil authorities, while the settlers seemed benumbed with fear and despondancy.

He writes to Amherst, "I find myself utterly abandoned by the very people I am ordered to protect \* \* \* I have borne very patiently the ill usage of this province, having still hopes that they will do something for us; and

therefore "we avoided a quarrel with them." His efforts to engage a body of frontiersmen for the campaign were fruitless. They preferred to remain for the defence of their families, forgetting that their homes and families could never be secure until the savages had been driven back to their haunts beyond the Ohio and chastised into submission. Such a force of men, used to the woods and enured to pioneer life, would have been of vast service in the march.

The Highlanders were sure to get lost in the woods when sent out as flankers. As Bouquet wrote to Amherst July 26, "I cannot send a Highlander out of my sight without running the risk of losing the man, which exposes me to surprises from the skulking villians I have to deal with."

Doubtless, however, the tactics resorted to in 1758 to make his men effective against Indian attack and surprise during the Forbes campaign, were called into vigorous play during this march, as the outcome at Bushy Run clearly indicates. At Bedford, where he arrived July 25, Bouquet was more fortunate in enlisting frontiersmen and succeeded in getting about thirty to march with the army for flanking and scouting purposes.

Murders had continued in the settlements, three men having been killed near Shippenburg by prowling savages after the army passed. But thus far the troops had met with little molestation.

#### THE MARCH TO LIGONIER.

Now, however, began the real perils of the march, and greater caution was needed. Forests, rocks, ravines and thickets abounded on every side, inviting their wily foe to ambush the troops as they threaded their way through the valleys and across the mountains.

But Bouquet knew exactly what the exigencies of the situation required. July 28, the army started from Fort Bedford. A band of backwoodsmen led the way, followed closely by the pioneers; the wagons and cattle were in the centre guarded by the regulars and a rear guard of backwoodsmen closed up the line. Frontier riflemen, or

provincial rangers, scoured the woods on all sides, making surprise impossible. Bouquet himself, with musket in hand, oftentimes led the advance. Thus they toiled along the tedious way, which Burd, under Bouquet's orders, had opened through the wilderness five years before.

The mountain air, the pure water and delightful scenery had an inspiring effect upon the Highlanders, who grew stronger as they marched along.

August 2, the little garrison and small body of pioneer settlers, who had held Fort Ligonier for two long months, were transported with the sight of the red coats of the Royal Americans and the kilts and plaids of the Highlanders marching to their rescue.

"The Campbells were coming" indeed, as the record of the bloody fight a few days later fully demonstrates. The clan Campbell, whose members have marched so oft in many lands to glory and the grave, was well represented in the rank and file of Bouquet's army of deliverance.

The Indians disappeared as the troops approached, but no tidings had been received from Fort Pitt for weeks. Bouquet wisely resolved to leave his wagons and oxen behind, which were the most cumbrous part of his convoy, in order to advance more rapidly and be in better shape to resist attack. Three hundred and forty pack horses were loaded with supplies for the needy garrison at Fort Pitt, and on the 4th day of August the army marched about a dozen miles and encamped for the night.

Andrew Byerly and his son Michael accompanied the troops, in hopes of recovering some of their property, which had been left to the mercy of the Indians when the family had fled from Bushy Run over two months ago. After proceeding a few miles, the boy was sent back for some reason, to remain at Fort Ligonier. On his return he saw numerous Indian trails crossing the dusty road, over which the army had passed. The savages were on the alert to ascertain the number and character of the troops, and watching their opportunity to surprise and ambush them.

Bouquet had his plans well arranged for the speedy

relief of Fort Pitt in a way that would be most likely to thwart the designs of the savages. His intention was to push on to Bushy Run, which would be an excellent place for man and beast to rest and recuperate for a few hours, and then set out and make a forced march by night through the defiles at Turtle Creek, where he expected the savages would try to ambuscade his troops.

#### BUSHY RUN BATTLE.

Accordingly, on the morning of August 5, 1763, the troops set out at an early hour over the hills, and through the hollows of what now forms the heart of Westmoreland county, Pa. Along the Forbes road, shrouded on all sides by dense forests, they moved at a lively rate. By one o'clock the jaded column had advanced seventeen miles, and Andrew Byerly, along with a detachment of eighteen soldiers in the advance, cheered the weary troops with the welcome tidings that Bushy Run, their resting place, was only half a mile distant. All were pushing forward with renewed vigor, when suddenly the whole line was startled by the report of rifles in the front. A fierce assault had been made on the vanguard and the firing was quick and sharp. Twelve out of eighteen fell in the unequal conflict that ensued before the two advance companies could press forward to the relief of their comrades. The firing became furious, indicating that the Indians were in large force and were fighting with unusual courage.

The convoy of packhorses was halted, the troops were formed into line and a general bayonet charge was made through the forest. The yelping savages gave way before the cold steel of the Highlanders. But just as the route seemed cleared in front, terrib! war whoops resounded through the woods on either side, and an uproar among the packhorse drivers indicated that the convoy was attacked in the rear. The troops in advance were instantly recalled to defend the convoy. Driving away the savages by repeated bayonet charges they formed a circle around the crowded and frantic horses. It was a new kind of work for the Highlanders, but they bore themselves with great

steadiness and remarkable fortitude in spite of the terrific and confusing yells of their ferocious assailants and the deadly shots that came pouring in upon them from every thicket, tree or covert, large enough to conceal a foe. Nothing but implicit confidence in their commander and in the pluck and fidelity of each other could account for their undaunted gallantry under such trying circumstances. It seemed like pandemonium broke loose. Walter Scott has described such a scene :

“At once there rose so wild a yell  
Within that dark and narrow dell,  
As all the fiends from heaven that fell,  
Had pealed the banner-cry of hell.”

Rushing up with terrific whoops, the painted demons would pour in a heavy fire, and when the Highlanders would charge bayonet they would dodge and vanish behind trees and thickets only to renew the assault the moment the troops returned toward the circle of defence.

Many brave men fell on that hot afternoon. Captain Lieut. Graham and Lieut. McIntosh of the 42d Highlanders were killed and Lieut. Graham wounded. Lieut. Donald Campbell of the 77th was wounded and Lieut. Dow, of the Royal Americans, was shot through the body, after killing three Indians.

Upwards of sixty men were killed or wounded in the action which lasted until dark. It was impossible to change position and the troops were obliged to lay upon their arms where they had stood during the fight. Numerous sentinels were posted to guard against a night attack. A space was made in the centre of the camp for the wounded, around whom a wall of flour bags was erected to protect them from the bullets which flew among them thick and fast from all side during the fight. It was indeed a sad and dreary sight for the wounded.

The agony of thirst was almost intolerable, springs ran out of the hill sides near by, but the savages guarded them well with their skirmish line, and it was almost certain death to approach them. At imminent risk Byerly managed to convey a few hatfuls of water to the wounded Highlanders. A grateful shower of rain also afforded

some relief. After Bouquet had made his dispositions for the night he proceeded to write a report of the battle to General Amherst, evidently supposing that he was not likely to survive the conflict the coming day. The report was written amid all the bustle of the camp when danger and death in their most horrid forms stared him in the face, and yet how carefully, calmly and correctly everything of note is stated! Here it is.

REPORT OF THE FIRST DAY'S FIGHT NEAR BUSHY RUN.

CAMP AT EDGE HILL,

26 MILES FROM FORT PITT, 5th Aug. 1763.

SIR: The second instant the troops and convoy arrived at Ligonier, where I could obtain no intelligence of the enemy. The expresses sent since the beginning of July, having been either killed or obliged to return, all the passes being occupied by the enemy. In this uncertainty, I determined to leave all the wagons, with the powder, and a quantity of stores and provisions, at Ligonier, and on the 4th proceeded with the troops and about 340 horses loaded with flour.

I intended to have halted to-day at Bushy Run, (a mile beyond this camp), and after having refreshed the men and horses, to have marched in the night over Turtle Creek, a very dangerous defile of several miles, commanded by high and rugged hills; but at one o'clock this afternoon, after a march of 17 miles, the savages suddenly attacked our advance guard, which was immediately supported by the two Light Infantry companies of the 42d regiment, who drove the enemy from their ambuscade and pursued them a good way. The savages returned to the attack, and the fire being obstinate on our front and extending along our flanks, we made a general charge with the whole line to dislodge the savages from the heights, in which attempt we succeeded, without by it obtaining any decisive advantage, for as soon as they were driven from one post, they appeared on another, till, by continued reinforcements, they were at last able to surround us and attacked the convoy left in our rear; this obliged us to march back to protect it. The action then became general, and though we were attacked on every side, and the savages exerted themselves with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss; we also suffered considerably. Capt. Lieut. Graham and Lieut. James McIntosh, of the 42d, are killed, and Capt. Graham wounded. Of the Royal American Regt., Lieut. Dow, who acted as A. D. Q. M. G., is shot through the body.

Of the 77th, Lieut. Donald Campbell and Mr. Peebles, a volunteer, are wounded. Our loss in men, including rangers and drivers, exceeds sixty killed or wounded.

The action has lasted from one o'clock till night, and we expect to begin at daybreak.

Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information, that you may at all events take such measures as you think proper with the Provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt, as in case of another engagement, I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable.

I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the constant assistance I have received from Major Campbell during this long action, nor express my admiration of the cool and steady behavior of the troops, who did not fire a shot without orders, and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets. The conduct of the officers is much above my praises.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir, &c.

HENRY BOUQUET,

To His Excellency, Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

With gloomy forebodings the troops, and especially the wounded, awaited the dawn of the coming day. Wild whoops and occasional shots from the deep thickets and surrounding hillsides, indicated how eager the painted demons were to glut their vengeance. The hordes besieging Fort Pitt had all precipitated themselves upon Bouquet, knowing that if he and his supplies could be cut off and captured, the reduction of the fort would soon follow. It was a very disturbed and broken sleep that even the most securely sheltered of the troops could get at such a time.

#### SECOND DAY'S FIGHT, AUGUST 6.

With the first gray streaks of dawn came those incessant savage yells preluding a fierce assault on every side. Soon from every tree and bush that could conceal an enemy, a galling fire was poured upon the devoted forces of Bouquet. The Colonel himself, with his bright uniform,

was a conspicuous mark, and the balls whizzed about him so thick that he concluded to change his dress. While doing so, behind a large tree, no less than fourteen bullets struck it. As on the previous day, the savages made frequent impetuous onsets in order to break through the line of defence. But they were firmly met and gallantly repulsed at every point. The gleam of the bayonets would cause them to retire swiftly to the bushes, but the moment the charge ceased they were back again with their demoniac yells, popping away at every exposed soldier. The long march and hard fight of the previous day, added to their burning thirst, "more intolerable than the enemy's fire," as Bouquet puts it, left the troops in rather sorry plight to contend with such alert and daring assailants. The Indians had every advantage on their side in the way of shelter from the fire of the troops and being without any encumbrance they could attack and retreat with the greatest ease and rapidity. The savages marked the increasing fatigue and distress of the troops and, confident of speedy triumph, derided them in bad English and vulgar ribaldry. Keekyuskung, a Delaware chief, who had taken part in the murder of Colonel Clapham and his family, and who was a ringleader in getting up the conspiracy in general, was conspicuous in this kind of work throughout the morning, as he had been also on the previous night. His taunts were all the more provoking, as he bellowed them forth from behind a large tree, because he had, in times past, received many favors from Colonel Bouquet and the Royal Americans, when on his visits to Fort Pitt.

The interior of the camp was in great confusion owing to the fright of horses on account of the terrific war whoop resounding on all sides and the hurts received from Indian bullets. The cowardly behaviour of the pack horse men added to the danger and tumult. They forsook the poor brutes and hid themselves in terror among the bushes, from which no command or entreaty could draw them to a discharge of duty. Breaking away from the convoy many of the horses dashed madly through the woods, and through the lines of the contending forces. The crisis was fearful and only a cool head, fertile in

resources and a brave heart unappalled by any danger, could meet the emergency. The heat, the toil, the thirst, the increasing and more audacious assaults of the savages began to tell seriously upon the strength and spirits of the soldiers. They were growing weaker and falling rapidly while their relentless foes were every moment growing stronger and bolder.

It was a crisis requiring the highest kind of military genius combined with indomitable resolution. Bouquet was equal to the ordeal and from the very jaws of defeat, disaster and death he snatched the most brilliant victory ever won over the Indians.

A Captain or Lieutenant Barret, commanding it is said a small Maryland detachment of provincial rangers, pointed out to Bouquet a place where a large body of the boldest of the Indians might be taken on the flank and rear by a well directed bayonet charge around the hill and up a hollow or ravine. Andrew Byerly was with Bouquet at the time, and heard Barret make the suggestion, which the Colonel quickly put into execution on a large scale by a masterly piece of strategy. Immediately Major Campbell was directed to make a rapid circuit through the woods on the right flank of the savages around the hill aforesaid, taking them in flank and rear. Captain Basset of the Royal Engineers was directed to arrange the other companies, so as to co-operate promptly with the strategic movement at the right moment. The thin line of troops that took the place of the two companies withdrawn from the front, gave away before the impetuous onset of the exultant savages and fell back upon the convoy, where they presented a line of bristling steel. The Indians fell completely into the snare and rushed with demoniac fury into the camp, certain that the fight was won.

But just as they supposed themselves masters of the field the Highlanders charged in with a wild battle cry upon their right flank. A volley was fired upon the amazed and huddled savages, but they stood their ground with wonderful intrepidity, not willing to loose a decisive victory and the great booty of stores and scalps which a moment before they felt was within their grasp. It is

agreed on all hands that on this occasion, not only in the attack and the assault, but in meeting the unexpected charge on their flank and rear, the Indians displayed unusual courage and firmness.

But a well directed bayonet charge no body of Indians ever did or will stand. Here Bouquet had them at last where he wanted them, at close quarters where there could be no dodging or popping from behind the trees. The Highlanders were at home with the bayonet and only too glad to get a good chance at the painted villains who had skulked behind trees while they shot their brave comrades during the past two days. Still the savages struggled in hope of gaining the day, but the shock was irresistible and, perceiving that they had been caught in a trap, they fled in tumultuous disorder. In doing so they were obliged to pass in front of the companies brought up on the opposite side by Capt. Basset, from whom they received another volley. The four companies now vied with each other in driving the savages through the woods beyond Bushy Run without giving them time to reload their empty rifles. Many of their chief warriors were killed and the rest utterly routed. Among others, Kukyuskung, the ungrateful and blatant blackguard, and the famous war Chief called "The Wolf," were slain.

Amherst had expressed the hope that no prisoners with arms in their hands should be taken, and his wish was gratified. Historians say that in the fight only one Indian was taken prisoner, and after a little examination he was shot down like a captured wolf. Hereby hangs a tale, which I was told by my great great grandfather, Jacob Byerly, and his son Joseph, on Christmas day 1855, two and a-half years before the old Revolutionary veteran passed away, at the age of 99 years. He had heard it often from his father, who was in the fight. When the flight of the savages had fairly begun, a Scotch Highlander dropped his musket and darted after the fugitives, as only a fleet-footed Highlander could. Soon he overtook and mastered, single-handed, one of the largest of the savages, whom he was leading toward the camp, when he was met by an officer of Barret's detachment. "What are you

going to do with that fellow?" said the fussy official. "I am taking him to Colonel Bouquet. If *you* want one, there are plenty of them running yonder in the woods, and you may catch one for yourself," replied the Highlander. The officer drew his pistol and shot the prisoner through the head, which cowardly deed greatly incensed the brave Highlander and called forth the indignant rebuke of Bouquet, when informed of the affair.

Sixty dead Indians were found on the field, and many wounded had been conveyed away by their friends. Bouquet had won a decisive but dearly bought victory. Eight officers were killed or severely wounded, and in all one hundred and fifteen men, or nearly one-fourth of the entire force had been killed, wounded or were missing, as a result of the two day's conflict.

The pack horse drivers emerged from the bushes, and, in company with some of the Rangers, proceeded to scalp the dead Indians, whom the regular troops disdained to touch.

So many of the horses had escaped through their neglect and cowardice during the conflict that a large quantity of valuable stores had to be destroyed for lack of transportation to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Indians after the army passed on. Litters were made and the wounded were borne to Bushy Run, where the army encamped to rest and refresh themselves after the exhausting struggle of the past two days. After the severe handling they had lately received it was supposed the Indians would not molest them soon again. But scarcely had they gone into camp before a volley was fired into their midst. The angered Highlanders soon dispersed the prowling miscreants without awaiting orders to do so. Ten of the wounded died at Bushy Run and were buried next day where Harrison city now stands. The Indians returned to the battle-field after night and scalped all the dead they could find. These gory trophies they shook at the garrison and raised the scalp haloo, as they marched past Fort Pitt in a body, a short time before the army appeared on the morning of Aug. 10.

As on the night before, Bouquet rested not until he had

written his report of the day's conflict, which was done in such a complete manner that he never had occasion to change or supplement it.

Through the courtesy of her Majesty's government I have been furnished with an authentic copy of Bouquet's reports of these conflicts. The official reports are in all respects the same as given by Parkman, except the indicated omission by the copyist of the scalping operations of the Rangers and packhorse drivers, which I have supplied from Parkman's full text. But the detailed tabular statement of killed, wounded and missing in the Bushy Run battles I have never seen published elsewhere, not even by Parkman. It is very important and interesting, showing the relative losses of the Highlanders, Royal Americans and Rangers. The first named formed nearly two-thirds of Bouquet's force, and besides having to do the heavy work, making repeated bayonet charges, they were not used to the Indian's mode of fighting as were the small detachments of Rangers and Royal Americans. Hence the loss of the gallant Scotch far exceeds that of all other parties combined. The 42d Regiment of Royal Highlanders bore the brunt of the fierce assaults in front in the first days' battle and has a proud record on the roll of honor.

#### BOUQUETS' REPORT OF SECOND DAY'S FIGHT.

CAMP AT BUSHY RUN, 6th Aug. 1763.

SIR: I had the honor to inform your Excellency in my letter of yesterday of our first engagement with the savages.

We took the post last night on the hill where our convoy halted, when the front was attacked, (a commodious piece of ground and just spacious enough for our purpose). There we encircled the whole and covered our wounded with flour bags.

In the morning the savages surrounded our camp, at the distance of 500 yards, and by shouting and yelping, quite round that extensive circumference, thought to have terrified us with their numbers. They attacked us early, and under favor of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate our camp, and though they failed in the attempt, our situation was not the less perplexing, having experienced that brisk attacks had little effect upon an enemy who always gave way when pressed, and

appeared again immediately. Our troops were, besides, extremely fatigued with the long march and as long action of the preceding day, and distressed to the last degree, by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

Tied to our convoy, we could not lose sight of it without exposing it and our wounded to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon us, on every side, and to move it was impracticable, having lost many horses, and most of the drivers, stupified by fear, hid themselves in the bushes, or were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. The savages growing every moment more audacious, it was thought proper to still increase their confidence by that means, if possible, to entice them to come close upon us, or to stand their ground when attacked. With this view two companies of Light Infantry were ordered within the circle, and the troops on their right and left opened their files and filled up the space, that it might seem they were intended to cover the retreat. The Third Light Infantry company and the Grenadiers of the 42d were ordered to support the two first companies. This manœuvre succeeded to our wish, for the few troops who took possession of the ground lately occupied by the two Light Infantry companies being brought in nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistaking these motions for a retreat, hurried headlong on, and advancing upon us, with the most daring intrepidity, galled us excessively with their heavy fire; but at the very moment that they felt certain of success, and thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the first companies, sallied out from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank. They resolutely returned the fire, but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them, killed many of them and put the rest to flight. The orders sent to the other two companies were delivered so timely by Captain Basset, and executed with such celerity and spirit, that the routed savages who happened that moment to run before their front, received their full fire, when uncovered by the trees. The four companies did not give them time to load a second time, nor even to look behind them, but pursued them till they were totally dispersed. The left of the savages, which had not been attacked, were kept in awe by the remains of our troops, posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose; nor durst they attempt to support or assist their right, but being witness to their defeat, followed their example and fled. Our brave men disdained so much as to touch the dead body of a vanquished enemy that scarce a scalp was taken except by the Rangers and pack horse drivers.

The woods being now cleared and the pursuit over, the four

companies took possession of a hill in our front, and as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour and everything destroyed, which, for want of horses, could not be carried, we marched without molestation to this camp. After the severe correction we had given the savages a few hours before, it was natural to suppose we should enjoy some rest, but we had hardly fixed our camp, when they fired upon us again. This was very provoking; however, the Light Infantry dispersed them before they could receive orders for that purpose. I hope we shall be no more disturbed, for, if we have another action, we shall hardly be able to carry our wounded.

The behavior of the troops on this occasion, speaks for itself so strongly, that for me to attempt their eulogium would but detract from their merit.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, Sir, &c.

HENRY BOUQUET,

To His Excellency, Sir Jefferey Amherst.

P. S.—I have the honor to enclose the return of the killed, wounded and missing in the two engagements. H. B.

REFURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE TWO ACTIONS AT EDGE HILL, NEAR BUSHY RUN, THE FIFTH AND SIXTH AUGUST, 1763.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Captains. | Lieutenants. | Volunteers. | Sergeants. | Corporals. | Drummers. | Privates. |          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Killed.   | Wounded.     | Killed.     | Wounded.   | Killed.    | Wounded.  | Killed.   | Wounded. |
| 12d Regt. Royal Highlanders.....                                                                                                                                                                  | 1         | 1            | 1           | 1          | ..         | 1         | 2         | 1        |
| 10th Regt. Royal Americans.....                                                                                                                                                                   | ..        | ..           | 1           | ..         | ..         | 2         | 1         | 3        |
| 77th Regt. Montgomery's Highlanders.....                                                                                                                                                          | ..        | ..           | 1           | 1          | ..         | 3         | ..        | ..       |
| Volunteers, Rangers and Pack-horse                                                                                                                                                                | ..        | 1            | 1           | 1          | ..         | 3         | ..        | 1        |
| Total.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1         | 1            | 2           | 3          | ..         | 1         | 1         | 1        |
| 11th Regt. — Captain Joseph Campbell, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. James McMillan, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. Joseph Randall, of the 77th Regiment.                                               | 1         | 1            | 2           | 3          | ..         | 1         | 1         | 1        |
| 10th Regt. — Captain John Campbell, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. Duncan Campbell, of the 42d Regiment; Lieut. Donald Campbell, of the 77th Regiment; Volunteer, Mr. Peebles, of the 77th Regiment. | 1         | 1            | 2           | 3          | ..         | 1         | 1         | 1        |
| Total Killed.....                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1         | 1            | 2           | 3          | ..         | 1         | 1         | 1        |
| Wounded.....                                                                                                                                                                                      | ..        | ..           | ..          | ..         | ..         | ..        | ..        | ..       |
| Missing.....                                                                                                                                                                                      | ..        | ..           | ..          | ..         | ..         | ..        | ..        | ..       |
| Total of the whole.....                                                                                                                                                                           | 1         | 1            | 2           | 3          | ..         | 1         | 1         | 1        |

(*Colonial Correspondence—American and West Indies—Sir Jeff. Amherst, 1763, Vol. 97.*)

NEW YORK, 3d Sept., 1763.

MY LORD:—On the 10th of last month Col. Bouquet got his convoy into Fort Pitt, after having been attacked on the 5th and 6th by a very numerous body of savages, which he repulsed and defeated, though not without some loss on our side. Captain Lieut. Graham and Lieut. James McIntosh, of the 42d, being killed, with an officer of Rangers, and four officers wounded—the whole, 49 were killed and 60 wounded. As I have the honor to transmit to your Lordship Colonel Bouquet's letter with my answers, and the account I made public here of that affair, I need not repeat the praises due to the troops for their behavior, clogged as they were by a large but necessary convoy, and on a very untoward communication.

I have honor to be with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,  
JEFFERY AMHERST.

Right Honorable Earl of Egremont.

The copies of Col. Henry Bouquet's official reports of the battles with the Indians, near Bushy Run, I have received direct from the British government, in response to a letter written last January, which was endorsed by Hon. Wm. S. Stenger, Secretary of Commonwealth; Hon. H. P. Laird, Gen. R. C. Drum, Secretary of War Lincoln, and transmitted officially by Secretary of State Frelinghuysen.

The reports of Bouquet, written in the midst of such exciting and confusing scenes are models of exactness and reflect high honor upon him as a soldier and a scholar. Although a Swiss and well acquainted with German, French and other European languages, he wrote English better than the great majority of English officers.

With the aid of these reports and Hutchins' map, drawn up a few years after the battle, it is easy to locate the field of conflict. The first day's fight, where the 42d Highland regiment suffered so severely, took place on the Gonaware Hills, near Harrison City, located on Bushy Run. The fight around the convoy, where the savages were finally ambushed and routed, took place on the Wanamaker farm, a

short distance south-east of Mr. W.'s present residence. The old Forbes road ran through the Wanamaker and Gongaware farms, along a different line from the present road, but that line is well known by Mr. W., and others, who cleared away the native woods on both sides of the Forbes road. By comparing the march and resources of Bouquet with those of other Indian fighters, we are filled with increasing admiration at his success, August 5 and 6, 1763, on the bloody fields near Bushy Run.

With a force of less than 500 men, mostly composed of raw Highlanders, unused to Indian warfare, Bouquet defended his convey of 340 pack-horses and finally routed the horde of savages who had fought with unusual courage and sagacity. True, he lost about one-fourth of his men in killed and wounded, but an equal or greater loss was inflicted on his wily and savage foes. Compare this with the results of similar conflicts. Braddock, in 1755, with 1,400 men, lost nearly 900, and out of 85 officers, 64 were killed or wounded. And yet he was opposed by only a few hundred Indians and French, who lost only 30, all told, of their number. As a consequence, the borders were desolated for hundreds of miles and thousands of pioneers were driven from their homes or massacred.

Col. Crawford, with 500 men, in 1782, was routed, and himself, his son and son-in-law captured and burned at the stake.

Col. Loughrey, with 140 picked frontiersmen from Westmoreland, was surprised and all his force captured by an Indian detachment in 1781.

Gen. Harmer, 1790, with 300 regulars and over 1,000 volunteers was routed with a loss of several hundred of his best troops.

Gen. St. Clair, a brave and able officer, 1791, with 1,200 men, in line of battle, expecting attack and provided with artillery, and with large reinforcements near at hand, met with overwhelming defeat, and a loss of 68 officers killed 28 wounded, together with over half of his men. And these were for the most part veterans, used to fighting and commanded by gallant and experienced officers.

In the light of these and many similar conflicts in the

olden times or in recent years, the valor and ability of Bouquet shine forth in replendent colors. Or take a successful Indian fighter like Gen. Anthony Wayne and we find that Bouquet stands the peer of the greatest. Gen. Wayne had over 1,500 veteran and mounted Kentuckians and 2,000 regulars, including artillery in 1794. After sharp fighting, he routed about half his number of Indians, with a loss of 33 killed and a hundred of his own men wounded. The loss of the Indians was about the same as that of the whites. Under Braddock's management the Indians killed fifty white to every one of their own number slain, while under Bouquet's management they lost more of their own warriors than they were able to destroy of the whites. It is to honor the memory and perpetuate the heroism of this superb man and his gallant army of deliverance that Westmorelanders and all patriotic citizens of West Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio are invited to assemble on the historic field of his grandest triumph, Aug. 6, 1883.

"The battle of Bushy Run," says Parkman the great historian of Colonial times, "was one of the best contested actions ever fought between white men and Indians. \* \* \* The Indians displayed throughout a fierceness and intrepidity matched only by the steady valor with which they were met. In the provinces the victory excited equal joy and admiration, especially among those who knew the incalculable difficulties of an Indian campaign. The Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a vote expressing their sense of the merits of Bouquet and of the services he had rendered to the province. He soon after received the additional honor of the formal thanks of the King."

The army in a few days reached Fort Pitt, to the great joy and relief of the garrison, whose stock of provisions were about exhausted. Bouquet wrote, as follows :

*To Sir Jeffery Amhurst :*

FORT PITT, Aug. 11. 1763.

SIR :—We arrived here yesterday without further opposition than scattered shots along the road.

The Delawares, Shawanese, Wiandots and Mingoes, had closely beset and attacked this fort from the 27th July to the 1st inst., when they quitted it to march against us.

The boldness of those savages is hardly credible; they had taken post under the banks of both rivers close to the fort, where digging holes, they kept an incessant fire, and threw fire arrows. They are good marksmen, and though our people were under cover, they killed one and wounded seven. Captain Ecuyer is wounded in the leg by an arrow. I should not do justice to that officer should I omit mentioning, that without engineer or any other artificers than a few shipwrights, he has raised a parapet of logs round the fort above the old one (which, having not been finished was too low and enfiladed) palisaded the inside of the area, constructed a fire engine, and, in short, has taken all precautions, which art and judgment could suggest, for the preservation of this post, open before on three sides, which had suffered by the floods. The inhabitants have acted with spirit against the enemy, and in the repairs of the fort. Captain Ecuyer expresses an entire satisfaction in their conduct.

The artillery and the small number of regulars have done their duty with distinction.

Sir Jeffery Amherst's letters add to the above accounts, that by his last intelligence the number of savages in the two actions of the 5th and 6th of August slain, was about sixty, and a great many wounded in the pursuit. That the three principle ring-leaders of those people, who had the greatest share in fomenting the present troubles and were concerned in the murder of Col. Clapham, &c., viz: Kikyuscuting, and the Wolf and Butler, were, according to the information sent him, killed; the two former in the field, and the last at Fort Pitt.

#### THE OWNERSHIP OF THE BUSHY RUN TRACT.

It has been asserted by some writers, in recent as well as colonial days, that Col. Ephraim Blaine was in command of Fort Ligonier, which he bravely defended with provincial troops until Bouquet came along, after which he accompanied the army as commander of the pack-horse brigade, and took an active part in the battle of Bushy Run, where he came near losing his life, &c. He then resolved that some day he would become the owner of that historic field.

All this is pure fiction, evidently gotten up for a special purpose, in order to invalidate the claims of the Byerlys to the grant on Bushy Run, originally given by Col. Bouquet and secured by settlement and valuable improvements.

The name and record of Lieut. Archibald Blane, (not Blaine), who defended Fort Ligonier with a detachment of Royal Americans in 1763, have been confounded with those of Col. Ephraim Blaine, who first appears as a commissary sergeant in Bouquet's campaign of 1764. Neither Lieutenant A. Blane nor Colonel E. Blaine was in the Bushy Run battle. The former wrote Bouquet a letter from Fort Ligonier, immediately after the battle, congratulating him on his recent victory at Bushy Run. See Parkman's *Pontiac*, Vol. II., p. 160. See also page 407, of Washington — Irvine correspondence — where Ephraim Blaine's record is correctly sketched.

The truth is Ephraim Blaine jumped the older and original Byerly claim by a patent, confirmed by the Pennsylvania Executive Council in the distracted days of 1786, long after the death of the elder Byerly, and when his widow and children were in no shape to dispute his unjust usurpation. For forty-one pounds of provincial currency, when that currency was comparatively worthless, he managed to get a technical title to the old Byerly tract of over 300 acres along the Forbes road, on the historic field of Bushy Run! This was bad enough surely, but to make him one of the chief heroes in the fight, to boost up the unjust claim, is to violate not only the rights of a family but the rights of humanity. It pollutes the fountains and muddies the sacred stream of history itself.

It was no great credit to be in command of the pack-horse brigade at the Bushy Run battle, as Col. Bouquet's report indicates. And we do Col. Blaine's memory a service by relieving him from the equivocal position in which certain prominent individuals placed him in the suit for ownership of the battle-field, when they testified that Col. Blaine took part in the battle of 1763 as commander of the pack-horse brigade, &c.

Hon. Jos. H. Kuhns who was counsel for the Blaines in the later stages of the suit, (when Blaine's friends claimed that he had bought Byerly's right and title) told the writer a few weeks ago that the general feeling at the time of the trial was that the Byerlys had right and justice on their side. The presiding judge, being a resident

of Carlisle and a special friend of the Blaines, was blamed with partiality. Until recently Mr. Kuhns believed the fiction about the presence and narrow escape of Col. Ephraim Blaine in the battle, &c., which had been palmed off in the courts, &c., at the trial.

But after learning the real facts in the case, and seeing how the names and records of Lieut. Archibald Blane and Col. Ephraim Blaine had been confounded, he wrote me the following candid note on the subject :

GREENSBURG, Pa., May 2, 1883.

*Rev. Cyrus Cort :*

REV. AND DEAR SIR.—Your esteemed favor received. I am satisfied that the story of Blaine's claim to the battle ground is apocryphal. He was an intruder upon Byerly, who was, in point of fact, the first actual owner of the ground by occupancy and legal authority of the proprietary government of Penn'a.

Respectfully, JOS. H. KUHNS.

So much for the question of original and rightful ownership of Bushy Run battlefield. Byerly removed his family to Fort Bedford, by advice of Bouquet, until peace was firmly established at the end of next year. He then returned and occupied the grant on Bushy Run. About the time of the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, he took his son Andrew to Lancaster, Pa., to give him a chance to get an education at the home of his step-sisters. While on this visit the old gentleman died, and was buried at Strasburg, in that county. I am indebted to Ad. J. Eberly, esq., and Rev. J. A. Peters for the following facts, which should have been stated at page 17 :

Record book B, page 349, contains a deed from James Hamilton, esq., to Andreas Byerly, for a lot of ground on east side of North Queen street, a frontage of 64 feet and 4½ inches and a depth of 245 feet, in the town of Lancaster, Pa., dated October 25, 1745.

The baptismal records of the First Reformed church of Lancaster, Pa., mention Andreas Byerly as standing sponsor for a child, Feb. 3, 1745. So also on May 3, 1750, he and his wife served in same capacity for a child by name of Houck, from Strasburg Twp., and again for a Backen-

stopp, Feb. 4, 1753, under the pastorates of Revs. Schnorrböck and Otterbein, respectively.

The Byerly family resided for greater safety at Fort Walthour during the Revolution. Jacob served in several campaigns against the Indians, and killed a chief in a fight near Brady's Bend, when quite a young man.

Mrs. Byerly was a very intelligent, humane and pious woman. She had been well trained in the doctrines of the Reformed Church of Switzerland. She did good service as a nurse and a kind of doctress during those dark and dangerous days. But her care was extended to the soul as well as body. She established a Sunday school for the intellectual and religious training of the neglected children at the fort, and in various ways was a public benefactress. Some years after Mr. Byerly's death she was married to a Mr. Lord, an Englishman. She lies buried among her children at the old Brush Creek graveyard. Andrew Byerly had four sons, viz.: Michael, Jacob, Francis and Andrew. Their descendants are scattered over a great part of the United States. Jacob entered the Revolutionary army at sixteen, and saw hard service for several years in helping to guard the frontiers against Indians and Tories. His son Andrew was major in the War of 1812, and guarded the ships of Commodore Perry's fleet, while being built on Lake Erie. Benjamin was a lieutenant and Joseph a private, as also his son-in-law, Skelly, in the same war. Benjamin was likewise sheriff and assemblyman.

Captain George A. Cribbs, who fell at the head of his men at the second battle of Manassas, was married to a grand daughter of Jacob Byerly, and Sergeant Cyrus Rankin, who fell on the Peninsula, was a great grandson.

Mrs. James Gregg, of Greensburg, is a granddaughter of Michael, and Daniel C. Byerly, deceased, was a grandson.

Prof. Andrew Byerly, of Millersville Normal School, is a grandson of Andrew II.

The descendants of Francis Byerly are numerous in Iowa. Michael, Jacob and Francis married three sisters named Harmon, whose mother was Christina Lenhart, from Holland. Jacob was married in old Fort Walthour,

by 'Squire Trouby, during the Revolution. He and his son Joseph are buried with fine military monuments at Brush Creek graveyard.

## EVIL RESULTS OF PROVINCIAL APATHY.

After their discomfiture at Bushy Run, the Indians moved from their towns along the Alleghany and Ohio rivers into the Muskingum country, where they fancied themselves entirely safe from molestation, while at the same time they could carry on their depredations by sudden incursions into the white settlements. It would have been wise policy and an immense saving of life and treasure had they been followed at once to their forest-fastnesses and brought to terms by a display of military prowess in their own haunts.

This was exactly what Bouquet proposed to do. As soon as he had brought his heavy convoy through from Fort Ligonier to Port Pitt, he made strenuous efforts to secure reinforcements for such an expedition into the heart of the Indian country.

August 27, 1763, he wrote General Amherst from Fort Pitt that with a re-inforcement of three hundred Provincial Rangers he could destroy all the Delaware towns "and clear the country of that vermin between this fort and Lake Erie." He bitterly complained that the provinces would not even furnish escorts to convoys, so that his hands were completely tied. He candidly admitted the importance and value of provincials for service against the savages in the woods, something which Amherst, like Braddock before him, was loth to do.

October 24, 1763, he writes the haughty and obstinate Amherst as follows: "Without a certain number of woodsmen I cannot think it advisable to employ regulars in the woods against savages, as they cannot procure any intelligence and are open to continual surprises, nor can they pursue to any distance their enemy when they have routed them; and should they have the misfortune to be defeated, the whole would be destroyed, if above one day's march from a fort. That is my opinion, in which I hope to be deceived."

The Quaker Provincial authorities, backed by the Dunkard and Mennonite elements among the Germans, seemed to be utterly insensible to the dangers and sufferings of the exposed settlements near the borders. In their more secure abodes in the older settlements they would prate about the wickedness of war, and try to justify their impracticable theories by extensive scriptural quotations.

St. Paul teaches that civil government is a divine institution, and its representatives must not bear the sword in vain, but be a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well. See Rom., 13.

All this was ignored, and in place of it was substituted a perverted theory of non-resistance. The exhortations to individual Christians to forego the gratification of private or personal revenge, on the ground of the old law of retaliation, was applied to civil rulers and governments in a way that was contrary to reason and Scripture.

The Great Cove, in Blair county, was settled by Dunkards as early as 1755. These were exposed to Indian raids. "*Gottes wille sei gethan*," they would say, while the brutal savages were tomahawking their wives and children, in whose defence they would not lift a finger. They seemed to think that it was the Lord's will that the devil and his agents should have full swing without opposition.

The strong and vigorous Scotch Presbyterian and the German Reformed and Lutheran elements of the population had no patience or sympathy with such sentimental views. When their families or friends were being ruthlessly slaughtered by the savages, they were filled with indignation against all who either directly or indirectly abetted the cruel destroyers of life and property.

Large numbers of Reformed and Lutheran families had settled along the Codorus, the Conewago, the Monocacy and Connocheague streams of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where regularly organized congregations existed already in 1748, as we learn from the "*Life and Travels of Rev. Michael Schlatter*." So also at Winchester and other points through the Shenandoah Valley.

The Royal American Regiment, as we have seen, was largely composed of this element and commanded by ex-

perienced German and Swiss officers, who had seen service in the armies of the Dutch Republic.

The horrors of savage warfare fell upon these settlements and soldiers, together with their Scotch-Irish neighbors, in the Conococheague settlements.

The friendly Conestoga Indians in Lancaster county and the Moravian Indian converts along the Lehigh were blamed for harboring and abetting some of the marauding Indians, and the full force of popular fury was arrayed against them. When homes were being daily desolated, parents tomahawked and scalped, and children carried into heathen captivity, it was natural for the people to hate the name of Indian and to be filled with wrath at any one who would protect or countenance any member of the race. The supineness of the Provincial Assembly, and their failure to second the efforts of such a man as Bouquet was discouraging and demoralizing and provoking in the extreme to the regular troops, who had suffered so much on the outposts, and to the hardy pioneers in the advanced settlements. The Paxton Boys, in their riotous conduct at the Lancaster jail and in their march to Philadelphia, helped to awaken the Quakers from their dream of lethargic indifference. The Royal Americans had been kept in the woods for over six years, and now Amherst sought to compel regulars to remain in service after the long term of enlistment had expired. These causes combined to produce great discontent, both among officers and men. They were expected to hold many important posts and keep up long lines of communication in the midst of the wilderness, surrounded by prowling and hostile savages. Lieut. Archibald Blane and the gallant Capt. Ecuyer asked Bouquet to be relieved from labors and responsibilities too heavy for their strength and resources. And Bouquet himself chagrined, at some action of the British government which seemed to shut the door of promotion against foreign born officers, and worried out of patience by the ingratitude and neglect of the provinces, felt himself constrained to do the same thing.

Amherst had left for England, disgusted with the situation and angry at the provinces for want of co-operation. General Gage had taken his place as commander-in-chief. Bouquet wrote Gage, June 20, 1764, asking to be relieved of the command, the burden and fatigues of which were too great for his strength to endure much longer.

He thus refers to the condition of the troops at the same time: "The three companies of Royal Americans were reduced, when I met them at Lancaster, to 55 men, having lost 38 by desertion, in my short absence. I look upon Sir Jeffery Amherst's orders forbidding me to continue to discharge, as usual, the men whose term of service was expired, and keeping us seven years in the woods, as the occasion of this unprecedented desertion. The encouragement given everywhere in this country to deserters, screened almost by every person, must in time ruin the army unless the laws against harbourers are better enforced by the American (provincial) government."

But Gage would not consent to relieve so useful a man in such an emergency. It was agreed that two strong bodies of troops should proceed into the Indian country to do what Bouquet was anxious to do the previous summer, i. e. chastise the savages into submission in their own native strongholds. Bradstreet was to take a large force by way of the Lakes and co-operate with Bouquet, who was to march with his Bushy Run veterans (what was left of them) and a large force of provincial rangers to be raised in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland.

The Pennsylvania Assembly voted to raise three hundred men to guard the frontiers and one thousand to join Bouquet's expedition into Ohio. Virginia and Maryland at first refused to do anything for the common defence.

#### MASSACRE OF A SCHOOL-MASTER AND TEN SCHOLARS.

The summer of 1764 was rapidly passing away, and nothing effective had yet been done. The Indians continued their ravages and penetrated deeper and deeper into the settlements, killing and slaying the defenceless people.

"In 1764, July 26, three miles northwest of Greencastle, Franklin county, Pa., was perpetrated what Parkman, the great historian of Colonial times, pronounces 'an outrage unmatched in fiend-like atrocity through all the annals of the war.' This was the massacre of Enoch Brown, a kind-hearted exemplary Christian schoolmaster, and ten scholars, eight boys and two girls. Ruth Hart and Ruth Hale were the names of the girls. Among the boys were Eben Taylor, George Dustan and Archie McCullough. All were knocked down like so many beebes and scalped by the merciless savages. Mourning and desolation came to many homes in the valley, for each of the slaughtered innocents belonged to a different family. The last named boy, indeed, survived the effects of the scalping knife, but in a somewhat demented condition.

The teacher offered his life and scalp in a spirit of self-sacrificing devotion if the savages would only spare the lives of the little ones under his charge and care. But no! the tender mercies of the heathen are cruel, and so a perfect holocaust was made to the Moloch of war by the relentless fiends in human form. The school house was located on the farm now occupied by Mr. Henry Diehl, and formerly owned by Mr. Christian Koser. It stood in a cleared field, at the head of a deep ravine, surrounded by dense forests. Down this ravine the savages fled a mile or two until they struck Conococheague creek, along the bed of which, to conceal their tracks, they traveled to the mouth of Path Valley, up which and across the mountains they made good their escape to their village, near the Ohio.

It is some relief to know that this diabolical deed, whose recital makes us shudder even at this late date, was disapproved by the old warriors when the marauding party of young Indians came back with their horrid trophies. Neephaughwese, or Night Walker, an old chief or half-king, denounced them as a pack of cowards for killing and scalping so many children.

But who can describe the agony of those parents in the Conococheague, settlement weeping like Rachel for her children and refusing to be comforted? Or who can describe the horror of the scene in that lonely log school house, when one of the settlers chanced to look in at the door to ascertain the cause of the unusual quietness.

In the centre lay the faithful Brown, scalped and lifeless, with a Bible clasped in his hand. Around the room were strewn the dead and mangled bodies of seven boys and two girls, while little Archie, stunned, scalped and bleeding, was creeping around among his dead companions, rubbing his hands over their faces and trying to gain some token of recognition.

A few days later the innocent victims of savage atrocity received a common sepulture. All were buried in one large, rough box at the border of the ravine, a few rods from the school house where they had been so ruthlessly slaughtered. Side by side, with head and feet alternately, the little ones were laid with their master, just as they were clad at the time of the massacre. Strange to say, no memorial tablet has ever been erected over their remains. Tradition has preserved the exact location of the common grave of master and scholars, and it is not too late yet for grateful, patriotic and philanthropic Christian people, enjoying the blessings of civilization, peace and prosperity, to render this duty of the living to the martyred dead.

August 4, 1843, or seventy-nine years after the slaughter, a number of the principal citizens of Greencastle made excavations to verify the traditional account of the place and manner of burial. Some remains of the rough coffin were found at quite a depth from the surface, and then the skull and other remains of a grown person, alongside of which were remains of several children. Metal buttons, part of a tobacco-box, teeth, &c., were picked up as relics by those present, among whom were some of our citizens still living with us in a green old age, viz: Dr. Wm. Grubb, Dr. J. K. Davison, Geo. W. Zeigler, Esq., and Gen. David Detrich.

There was a good deal of talk at the time about the propriety of buying the adjacent grounds, laying out a road and erecting a monument; but nothing definite was ever done. Mr. Koser, the owner of the farm, took a lively interest in the matter, and in lieu of a better memorial planted four locust trees to mark the corners of the grave. Two of these only survived and are mentioned by S. H. Eby, Esq., Sup't of Common Schools, in his interesting report, published 1877. But, alas! even these imperfect historic landmarks were cut down a few years ago for the sake of making a few posts, and Mr. Koser's well-meant efforts to preserve the identity of the grave have thus in a measure been thwarted. The stumps remain as frail indices by which the exact location of the grave may still be accurately determined.

Such is the present state of the case as ascertained last Wednesday (April 11, 1883), on a visit to the spot by Gen. David Detrich, Col. B. F. Winger and Rev. Cyrus Cort."

The foregoing is an extract from an article that appeared in the *Greencastle Press*.

I am glad to be able to report that as a result of the visit just mentioned, steps having been taken by public spirited citizens of Greencastle to have the grave of Brown and

his martyred scholars duly marked by a permanent monument at an early day.

Atrocities like these helped to arouse the slumbering provinces to the necessity of bold and energetic measures.

#### CAMPAIGN OF 1764.

On the 5th of August the two Pennsylvania battallions under Lieut. Colonels Francis and Clayton were assembled at Carlisle. Gov. Penn had come up from Philadelphia with Col. Bouquet and addressed the troops. He spoke of the necessity of chastising the Indians "for their repeated and unprovoked barbarities on the inhabitants of the Province, a just resentment of which added to a remembrance of the loyalty and courage of our provincial troops on former occasions he did not doubt, would animate them to do honour to their country, and that they could not but hope to be crowned with success as they were to be united with the same regular troops and under the same able commander who had by themselves on that very day, the memorable 5th of August, in the preceeding year, sustained the repeated attacks of the savages and obtained a complete victory over them."

Gov. Penn also reminded them of the exemplary punishments that would be inflicted on the greivous crime of desertion, if any of them were capable of so far forgetting their solemn oath and duty to their king and country as to be involved in it. Col. Bouquet then took command of the troops, regular and provincial. After four days of necessary preparation for the long march, the army set out.

Col. Bouquet gave very strict "orders to officers and men to observe strict discipline and not to commit the least violation of the civil rights or peace of the inhabitants."

His care and conduct in this respect stand forth in happy contrast with that of many militia or emergency men who came up the valley to defend the borders from invasion a hundred years later, but who in the end were more harmful and more dreaded by the loyal people of the borders than the disciplined host of Southern invaders under Lee.

## DESERTIONS OF PROVINCIAL TROOPS.

In spite of all precautions, no less than 200 desertions took place by August 13, when the army reached Fort Loudoun.

Bouquet asked permission to fill up the contingent, which was granted by resolution of the governor and commissioners August 16. He then applied to Colonel Lewis for 200 Virginia volunteers, to take the place of the deserters. With the co-operation of Governor Fauquier the men were soon raised and joined Bouquet at Fort Pitt in the latter part of September.

These Virginia volunteer riflemen were among his best troops, but in the end, Virginia ungratefully left Col. Bouquet in the lurch as regards their payment.

At Fort Loudoun, Bouquet received a very presumptuous and characteristic letter from Col. Bradstreet, telling him that he need not proceed any farther, inasmuch as peace had been concluded with the Delawares and Shawanese. At that very time these same tribes were scalping settlers in all directions. Bradstreet was ambitious to gain all the glory of the campaign. Instead of minding his own business and compelling the Lake Indians to bring in their captives and give proper guarantees of submission, he turned aside in his course to attend to the business assigned to Bouquet, who was his superior officer. As the whole scheme was a ruse on the part of the Ohio Indians to gain time and prevent Bouquet's advance, he and General Gage were both indignant at Bradstreet and repudiated his officious intermeddling.

Without delaying an hour, Bouquet pushed forward. September 5, he had reached Fort Bedford, where more Pennsylvanians deserted, taking along their arms and horses. A large reinforcement of friendly Indians, promised to be sent from the Six Nations by Sir. Wm. Johnson, never arrived. At Ligonier he received from Gen. Gage the hearty endorsement of his own conduct, and the repudiation of Bradstreet's unwarranted and premature negotiations with irresponsible representatives of the Ohio Indians.

## ARRIVAL AT FORT PITT.

He passed safely over the historic field of Bushy Run to Fort Pitt, where he was rejoiced to receive the Virginia reinforcement. Ten Indians came to the opposite bank of the river, proposing a conference. Finding that they were evidently spies, endeavoring to gain important information, he detained two of the as hostages, and sent another one with two messengers to Bradstreet and a statement to the Ohio Indians that if any harm was done to these two men, the Indian hostages in his hands should be put to death at once and dire vengeance executed against their entire nation. Several Iroquois Indians came into the fort, pretending great friendship, and assuring him that the Ohio Indians would speedily return all the white captives. They spoke of the difficulty of penetrating the hilly forests and the great numbers of the Indians who would oppose the army, but who would soon fulfil all his stipulations if he only remained quietly at Fort Pitt. The whole object of these crafty envoys was evidently to delay the campaign until bad weather and lateness of the season made it impossible.

Bouquet saw through their designs and sent them to tell the Delawares and Shawanese, &c., that he was on his way to punish their cruel and perfidious conduct unless they made prompt and complete submission to his terms.

## THE MARCH INTO OHIO.

Early in October the army left Fort Pitt to cut a road directly through the unexplored wilderness of Ohio. The Colonel assured the troops of his confidence in their bravery and told them that "he did not doubt but that this war would soon be ended, under God, to their own honor and the future safety of their country, provided the men were strictly obedient to orders and guarded against the surprises and sudden attacks of a treacherous enemy, who never dared to face British troops in an open field."

Large droves of sheep and cattle were taken along for subsistence, besides great droves of packhorses loaded with flour and other provisions. The Virginia woodsmen acted

as scouts and flankers in front and on the sides, whilst the pioneers cleared the road through the dense forest. The army, with flocks and herds and camp equipage, followed the pioneers at the rate of seven or eight miles a day, moving constantly in a series of concentric hollow squares, with flocks, herds, baggage, packhorses, &c., in the centre.

Thus in line of battle and guarding carefully against ambush and surprise, they moved steadily forward. Skulking Indians were watching every movement, but no direct attempt was made to interfere with the progress of the troops. The strictest discipline was enforced. Before leaving Fort Pitt two soldiers had been shot for desertion, and all superfluous women ordered back to the settlements. One woman was allowed to each corps, and two nurses for the general hospital. These were needed to look after the children and female captives, whose recovery was one chief object of the expedition. In ten days the army reached the Muskingum, and was now in the heart of the Indian country. Near the fording of that river, they saw the wigwams of 100 families of Tuscarora Indians who had fled in terror at their approach. The two soldiers sent to Bradstreet, now appeared, having been detained by the Delawares on trifling pretexts until they saw the invasion was an overwhelming success. They brought word that the chiefs would come in a few days to hold a conference.

#### COUNCIL ON THE MUSKINGUM—CAPTIVES RESTORED.

Bouquet marched along the Muskingum until he found ample forage in the broad meadows for his cattle, sheep and packhorses; he erected a palisaded depot for provisions and baggage. Soon a number of chiefs appeared, stating that great numbers of warriors were eight miles distant, and that a place and time should be appointed for council. He designated a spot near the river bank where he would meet them next day. A party of woodsmen soon prepared a rustic arbor, where English officers and Indian chiefs might meet under shelter. Every precaution was used to prevent a surprise or attack. Guards

were doubled and no straggling allowed. The soldiers were drawn up so as to make the most stunning impression upon the minds of the savages. And truly it was a wonderful sight to see such a vast body of troops fully equipped in the midst of the wilderness, with flocks and herds, and other resources needed for a protracted campaign. The scene was as picturesque as it was astounding in its display of military prowess.

The Highland grenadiers were there "with their plaids, kilts and tartans, whom the Indians styled, "petticoat warriors" on account of their queer dress. The Royal Americans were on hand with their bright red British uniforms, the duller garb and duller trappings of Pennsylvania troops and the fringed hunting frocks of the Virginia backwoods riflemen made such a combination of military pomp and power as has been rarely seen in any land.

The chiefs came at the appointed hour—Kiashtuta, or Guyashuta, the chief of a band of Senecas, Custaloga chief of the Delawares, Keisnauchtha, chief of the Shawanese, each with a band of warriors, were the leaders along with Turtle Heart, Beaver, &c., they tried to frame excuses for their teacherous conduct, blaming it on the rashness of their young men and the western tribes led in person by Pontiac, they begged for peace and promised to return to him all white prisoners in their hands.

Bouquet thoroughly understood the Indian character, and knew what demeanor and tactics suited the occasion. He told them to return next day to receive his answer. Inclement weather prevented their proposed meeting until the twentieth. Instead of calling them brothers he began: "Sachems, War chiefs and Warriors." He then addressed them with great spirit, and in severe and impassioned language. He pointed out the absurdity of their trifling excuses, and reminded them of their unparalleled treachery and cruelty in plundering traders and settlers, capturing children and in assulting the king's troops in the woods at Bushy Run, last summer. He denounced their continued murderous forays upon the border settlements, and condemned their repeated failures to bring back the white prisoners in their hands. He will

not be deceived longer by their false promises. "If," said he, "it were possible that you could convince us that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behavior for the future, you might yet hope for mercy and peace. If I find that you faithfully execute the following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the severity you deserve. I give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands at Waukatamake, all prisoners in your possession without any exception, Englishmen, Frenchmen, women, children, whether adopted in your tribes, married or living amongst you under any denomination and pretence whatsoever, together with all negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with clothing, provisions and horses to carry them to Fort Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

Bouquet was as wise and sagacious as he was brave and generous. The manner as well as the sentiments of his address made a deep and lasting impression upon the supplicating savages. Their haughty spirit was completely humbled.

They abjectly promised to comply fully with all the conditions. The Delawares had already delivered up eighteen prisoners. They handed over eighty-three small sticks indicating the remaining number of prisoners in their hands, whom they promised to bring in as soon as possible. The Shawanese failed to respond properly to the Colonel's wishes, either by appearing at the council with their kings or by bringing in the captives in their hands. A sharp message was sent to them not to trifle with the patience of the commander. The army marched some thirty odd miles further to the Forks of the Muskingum, where it was agreed to await the prisoners instead of at Waukatamake. The principal chiefs of each tribe he kept in his possession as hostages to secure the fulfillment of pledges. Great care had to be taken to prevent a general stampede of the tribes and the murder of all the prisoners in their hands as well as to secure a full compliance with the conditions of restoration. Bouquet's management in-

spired them with confidence and respect, while at the same time it filled them with terror and brought them into complete submission to his commands. Runners were sent out in all directions, and soon several hundred captives were brought into camp. Among these were ninety Virginians, of whom thirty-two were adult males and the rest were women and children; one hundred and sixteen Pennsylvanians, forty-nine men and sixty-seven women and children were also returned. Many of the volunteers had wives, children and relatives among the captives, and the scenes that took place at the recovery and recognition of the long lost loved ones were touching in the extreme. With great sorrow and reluctance the Indians parted with these adopted members of their households. For, be it remembered, that when once an Indian had adopted a captive, the captive was henceforth treated as a member of the family and not as a slave. The captive women were, as a rule, absolutely free from insult and were not even obliged to marry against their will. The reverse of this is the case among many of the Western and South-western tribes of Indians at the present day, who treat their captives as slaves and always outrage the women. Many of the Shawanese warriors were absent on hunting expeditions, so that nearly a hundred captives could not be reached. Hostages were given for the safe delivery of these at Fort Pitt. Bouquet maintained a stern and indignant demeanor until all conditions were fulfilled as far as possible, knowing that any other deportment under circumstances would be mistaken for timidity and indecision. Kindness can only be appreciated by a savage when he knows you have ability to overwhelm him if refractory. Having fully convinced them of his prowess and displeasure at everything like duplicity, Bouquet convened the chiefs in the rustic council house again and intimated his satisfaction with their conduct and his desire to arrange for a lasting peace.

Guyasutha, the celebrated Seneca chief, who had been the leading spirit of the eastern wing of Pontiac's conspiracy, and had led the forces around Fort Pitt and at Bushy Run, made the opening speech in the metaphorical

and eloquent language so characteristic of Indian orators. "Brother," said he, addressing Col. Bouquet, "with this string of wampum I dispel the thick cloud that has hung so long over our heads, that the sunshine of peace may once more descend to warm and gladden. I wipe the tears from your eyes and condole with you on the loss of your brethren who have perished in this war. I gather their bones together and cover them deep in the earth, that the sight of them may no longer bring sorrow to your hearts, and I scatter dry leaves over the spot, that it may depart forever from memory. The path of peace, which once ran between your dwellings and mine, has of late been choked with thorns and briars, so that no one could pass that way, and we have both forgotten that such a path had ever been. I now clear away all such obstructions and make a broad, smooth road, so that you and I may freely visit each other as our fathers used to do. I kindle a great council fire whose smoke shall rise to heaven in view of all the nations while you and I sit together and smoke the peace pipe at its blaze."

The orators of each tribe spoke in similar strain promising to lay down their arms and live hereafter in peace with the English. Bouquet replied to each and all as follows: "By your full compliance with the conditions which I imposed you have satisfied me of your sincerity and I now receive you as brethren. The King, my master, has commissioned me, not to make treaties but to fight his battles; and though I now offer you peace it is not in my power to settle its precise terms and conditions. For this I refer you to Sir William Johnson, his Majesty's agent and superintendent for Indian affairs, who will settle with you the articles of peace and determine everything in relation to trade. Two things, however, I shall insist on. And first you are to give hostages as security that you will preserve good faith and send without delay a detachment of your chiefs to Sir William Johnson. In the next place these chiefs are to be fully empowered to treat in behalf of your nation; and you will bind yourselves to adhere strictly to everything they shall agree upon in your behalf."

These conditions were readily complied with, and chiefs duly designated for the mission to Sir William.

And now having gained all his points, Bouquet to the great joy and relief of the Indians extended for the first time the hand of friendship, which hitherto he had resolutely refused to do.

Nettowhatways, the chief of the Turtle tribe, having failed to co-operate properly in the peace measures, Col. Bouquet deposed him and directed his tribe to elect another chief and present him as their proper representative, which was done a few days later.

Nov. 12, Red Hawk, Nimwha, Lavissimo, Bennevissico, and other leading Shawnese chiefs made their submission. Red Hawk instead of proposing in usual Indian style to bury the hatchet (which might in that case be dug up again) said that they as younger brothers would take it out of the hands of their older white brothers and "throw it up to God" that they might never see it again.

He then produced copies of treaties made in 1701 as an evidence of the friendly relations of their ancestors. He promised that the remainder of the prisoners would be brought into Fort Pitt in the spring which pledge was kept. Many of the captives had become so fond of Indian life that it was with difficulty that they could be induced to return to Christian homes. McCullough, one of the captives in his narrative says that Rhoda Boyd and Elizabeth Studibaker escaped from the whites and went back to the Indians. Mary Jemison, who had married among them, fled with her half-breed children and hid until the troops left the country.

This would indicate that after their adoption captives was as a rule treated kindly and as members of their own families by their Indian captors.

One of the Virginia volunteers had lost his wife and a child two years old in an Indian foray into the settlement six months before. What transports filled their hearts when he met her with a babe three months old at her breast! Quickly he took her to his tent, and furnished suitable clothing for her and her babe. But what had become of the two-year-old darling captured with its

mother? She could not tell, except that it had been separated from her and taken elsewhere after their captivity. A few days later a child was brought, in which was supposed to be the one in question. The mother was sent for, and at first was not certain that it was her child, but after carefully scrutinizing it she recognized its features, and was so overcome with joy that she dropped her young babe and, catching up the newly found child, she clasped it to her heart, and with a flood of tears carried it off. The father, picking up the child that she had let fall, followed his overjoyed wife and thus again the family circle was unbroken. The rough soldiers, and even the stolid savages were moved to feelings of sympathetic tenderness by such touches of human nature, which make the whole world of mankind akin.

November 18, the army set out for Fort Pitt, followed by many affectionate Indians, who sought to help the captives along in their homeward journey. In ten days the fort was reached just in time to escape severe winter weather. The regular troops (Highlanders and Royal Americans), were placed at the different forts and posts on the line of communication, while the volunteers returned with the captives to the provinces. Those captives, whose friends had not been able to go with the army, were taken to Carlisle, where many persons who had lost children by the Indians, flocked to discover, if possible, their captured kindred. One German woman, from East Pennsylvania, came in search of a daughter, who had been carried off nine years before. She identified one of the young female captives as her long lost child, but could gain no token of recognition in response to her loving entreaties. The old lady lamented that the child that she had often sung to sleep on her knee had forgotten her in her old age. Bouquet, like a man of sense and humane instincts, told the woman to sing one of the songs or hymns that she used to sing to her when a child. Mrs. Hartman, the mother, obeyed as best she could, singing part of a very appropriate German hymn, of which I will give several verses, together with a translation by Rev. Samuel R. Fisher, D. D., deceased.

Allein und doch nicht gantz alleine  
 Bin ich in meiner einsamkeit,  
 Dann wann ich gantz verlassen scheine,  
 Vertreibt mir Jesus selbst die zeit.  
 Ich bin bey Ihm, und Er bey mir,  
 So kommt nun gar nich einsam für.

Alope and yet not all alone  
 Am I, in solitude though drear,  
 For when no one seems me to own  
 My Jesus will himself be near.  
 I am with Him and He with me,  
 I, therefore, cannot lonely be.

Komm ich zur welt; man redt von sachen,  
 So nur auf eitlekeit gericht;  
 Da muss sich lassen das verlachen,  
 Der etwas von den Himmel spricht.  
 Drum wunsh ich lieber gantz allein,  
 Als bey der welt ohn Gott zu seyn.

Seek I the world? Of things they speak,  
 Which are on vanity intent;  
 Here he is scorned and spurned as weak  
 Whose mind on heavenly things is bent.  
 I rather would my lone way plod,  
 Than share the world without my God.

Verkehrte können leicht verkehren,  
 Wer greifet pech ohn kleben an?  
 Wie solt ich dann dahin begehren,  
 Wo man Gott bald vergessen kann?  
 Gesellschaft, die verdächtig sheint,  
 Wird ofters nach dein fall beweint.

With ease do pervers pervers make;  
 Who handles pitch his hands will soil:  
 Why then should I with those partake,  
 Who of His honor God despoil?  
 Society which we suspect,  
 We often afterwards reject.

\* \* \* \* \*

Wer wolte dann nun recht erkennen,  
 Das ich stets in gesellschaft bin?  
 Und will die welt mich einsam nennen,  
 So thun sie es nur immerhin.  
 G'nug, dass bey mir, wann ich allein,  
 Gott und viel tausend engel seyn.

## COL. HENRY BOUQUET

Who will not then with candor own,  
I have companions all I crave?  
And will the world still deem me lone?  
Then let it thus forever rave.  
Enough! I've God and angels' host,  
Whose number can its thousands boast.

The sweet accents of her German childhood, fell upon her enraptured ears like the song of angels, and with a gaze of fond recognition, and a passionate flood of tears, the long lost daughter rushed into the outstretched arms of her devoted mother.

Scenes like this threw a halo of religious romance around the expedition of Bouquet. Rev. Ruben Weiser has drawn out the story of Regina Hartman, the German captive, with confessedly large drafts upon the imagination. He draws Conrad Weiser into the drama, although the great Indian interpreter had already been dead four years! This is not more absurd than to foist in a German hostler to interpret between Mrs. Hartman and Col Bouquet, who was well acquainted with German, French, &c., or his efforts to make Regina pass through a certain religious process.

Peace and tranquility were restored to the borders without bloodshed, and hundreds of captives were brought back from heathen bondage to blessings of Christian homes and civilization. Bouquet was the hero of the hour. Early in January, 1765, he arrived in Philadelphia. The people and authorities everywhere vied with each other in expressing their highest esteem for his character, and grateful recognition of his services. The friends and relatives especially of recovered captives were filled with affectionate and reverent admiration.

## PUBLIC THANKS TO BOUQUET.

January 15, 1765, the Assembly of Pennsylvania at its first setting, adopted a congratulatory and complimentary address, heartily thanking him for his great service to that province, by his victory at Bushy Run, Aug. 6, 1763, his recent campaign against the Ohio Indians, during which he

had laid the foundation of lasting peace and rescued hundreds of Christian brethern from savage captivity ; and, finally, they thanked him for his "constant attention to the civil rights of his Majesty's subjects in this province."

In like manner the House of Burgesses for the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, thanked Bouquet for his invaluable services in subduing the Indians, and recovering so many of their people from captivity.

They further requested the Governor to recommend Bouquet to the ministers of King George, as an officer of distinguished merit, in this and every former service in which he had been engaged. The gallant and chivalric Colonel replied in grateful acknowledgment and generously awarded much of the credit of the success of his recent campaign to the efficiency of the provincial troops, and especially commended Col. Lewis for his zeal and good conduct during the campaign. Col. Reid' who was second in command, also received honorable mention from him as well as all officers, regular and provincial, who served in the expedition.

#### INJUSTICE AND INGRATITUDE OF VIRGINIA.

But every sweet has its bitter, and the oft-told tale of ingratitude and injustice to benefactors must, alas, be repeated. Virginia was lavish in her praises, as well she might be, for she had profited greatly by the campaign ; but when it came to foot the bill of expenses for her small body of splendid troops during the campaign, she repudiated the obligation ! "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon !" Pontiac, the heathen savage, put such conduct to shame by scrupulously redeeming every piece of birch bark currency issued in his name for supplies during the siege of Detroit.

At length, after great personal annoyance and embarrassment, Bouquet induced the Pennsylvania Assembly to pay the Virginia troops for services and expenses incurred during the campaign of 1764.

By so doing Pennsylvania in some degree atoned for a multitude of past sins of neglect and indifference. But

Bouquet was stung to the quick by the conduct of the Virginians, and begs Gen. Gage to relieve him from his present command in order that he might make a trip to Europe. His request was granted. He wrote to Gage March 4, 1765, "the disgust I have conceived from the ill-nature and ingratitude of those individuals (the Virginia officials) makes me accept with great satisfaction your offer to discharge me of this department, in which I never desire to serve again, nor, indeed, to be commanding officer in any other, since the new regulations you were pleased to communicate to me ; being sensible of my inability to carry on the service upon the terms prescribed."

This had reference to some rigid prescriptions which he supposed fully closed the door against the promotion of foreign born officers.

He seems to have intended to return and settle in the provinces, or remove obstacles in the line of promotion, for the day before writing the above letter to Gage, i. e., March 3, 1765, he was naturalized by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in accordance with a late act of Parliament.

#### BOUQUET'S PROMOTION.

And now to his great surprise and the gratification of all good men, Bouquet receives tidings that the King had promoted him to the rank of brigadier general.

April 15, 1765, he wrote his grateful acknowledgment of the unexpected honor, which also gave assurance of preferment to other deserving foreign-born officers, who were among the most devoted subjects of the King. Letters of congratulation came pouring in, especially from officers who had served under him.

Capt. George Etherington, of the first battallion of Royal Americans, who so narrowly escaped massacre at Michillmackinac in May, 1763, wrote Bouquet as follows from Lancaster, Pa., April 19, 1765 : "Sir, though I almost despair of this reaching you before you sail to Europe, yet I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving you joy on your promotion, and can, with truth, tell you that it gives great joy to all the gentlemen of the battallion, for

two reasons : first, on your account, and secondly, on our own, as by that means we may hope for the pleasure of continuing under your command. You can hardly imagine how this place rings with the news of your promotion, for the townspeople and German farmers stop us in the street to ask if it is true that the king has made Col. Bouquet a general : and when they are told it is true, they march off with great joy : so you see the old proverb wrong for once, which says he that prospers is envied ; for sure I am that all the people are more pleased with the news of your promotion than they would be if the government would take off the stamp duty."

Dr. Wm. Smith, Provost of the University and historian of his campaigns, spoke the common sentiment when he said Bouquet had become "as dear by his private virtues to those who have the honor of his more intimate acquaintance as he is by his military service to the public." For this reason "it is hoped he may long continue among us, where his experienced abilities will enable him, and his love of the English constitution entitle him, to fill any future trust to which his Majesty may be pleased to call him."

It had been Bouquet's hope and desire to visit England and to return again to the scenes of his earlier career among the low lands of Holland and the mountains of Switzerland, but the king assigned him to the command of the Southern military department, and as the Indians had recently become troublesome in that locality, he repaired to his new field of action without unnecessary delay.

#### LEAVES FOR PENSACOLA. WILL AND DEATH.

Before leaving Philadelphia he made his last will and testament, which I copied a few weeks ago at the office of the Register of Wills, in Philadelphia. It is in his own handwriting, and reads thus: "In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry Bouquet, Brigadier General of his Majesty's forces, serving in North America, have thought fit to dispose of my estate, real and personal, after my death, in the following manner : I give and bequeath for the use of the Hospital of Pennsylvania, forty pounds of that cu.

rency. I give and bequeath to my friend, Thos. Willing, Esq., five tracts of land of two hundred acres each, surveyed or to be surveyed for me in Trough Creek Valley, by virtue of the warrants granted me at the land office, and now to the amount of thirteen, including one to be given by Geo. Croghan, Esq., in the hands of Mr. Robert Callendar, living near Carlisle, in Cumberland county; amounting in the whole to two thousand eight hundred acres, for which I paid only the warrant money. I give and bequeath to John Schneider, the boy who is bound to me, the sum of fifty pounds currency to be paid him when he is of age by Col. Haldimand, to whom I recommend my other servants. All my just debts are to be paid, consisting at present in one thousand pounds sterling, besides interest to Mr. G. Heneman, solicitor of the Swiss troops at the Hague in Holland—in my note in hand to account current with Mr. Adam Hoops, the note being for two hundred and fifty pounds being without interest—in a bond upon mortgage to Mr. Roberts for the sum of one thousand pounds currency with interest. I give and bequeath to my father, if then living, or after him, to Col. Lewis Bouquet, and to his heirs all the effects of any nature, whatsoever, which I may be possessed of in the continent of Europe, without exception. I constitute and appoint my friend, Col. Frederick Haldimand, my heir and executor, and to him I give and bequeath all and everything which I may die possessed of in North America, without any exception whatever, upon the condition of paying my just debts and above legacies. My estate, consisting for the present in the farm called *Long Meadows enlarged*, situate in Frederick county, in the Province of Maryland. [Bouquet received the grant for this estate Sept. 16, 1763. It contained, as owned by him, 4,163 acres of very valuable land. Frederick county, Maryland, at that time included Washington county, within whose present limits the estate was located near the Pennsylvania line.] The deeds whereof are now in the possession of the above named, ——— Roberts. The said farm to be sold with the saw-mill, tan yard, houses, tenement and appurtenances on the same for the payment of my debts and legacies—in the eighteen

hundred acres of land above mentioned, to be surveyed for me in this Province and remaining after deducting the five tracts given to Mr. Willing—in my share of the Shepody lands if then in my possession—in my apparel, baggage, furniture, stores, &c., in my pay and arrears which may be due me at my death—in my share of the Carolina Plantation after the accounts are fully settled between Messrs. Guinand and the others concerned, all of which I bequeath to Col. Haldimand, and I hereby annul and declare void, and of no effect, any other will which I may at any time have made previous to this day, as this present will and testament contains my last and real intentions and disposition, and is to take place accordingly. In witness whereof, I have wrote, (written) signed with my own hand and affixed my seal to this last will and testament, in the City of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, this twenty-fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty five.

HENRY BOUQUET.

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator as his last will and testament in our presence who subscribed the same as witnesses in his presence and at his request.

B<sup>r</sup> JAMIN CHEW,  
JO. TURNER,  
THOS. TURNER.

The will was probated Nov. 1, 1765, on oath of the Turners, the other witness, Mr. Chew, being the register general. Soon after this and evidently with a good deal of reluctance, Gen. Bouquet set out for his new station at Pensacola, where he arrived Aug. 23, 1765, in the deadliest season of the year, and at once fell a victim to the fever so fatal to unacclimated persons. The following extract from the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for Thursday October 24, 1765, tells the sad story: "On Tuesday last arrived the sloop William, Capt. Rivers, in thirty-six days from Pensacola, by whom we learn ten sail of transports with troops (to relieve those on that station that are going home) arrived there, and that there has been a great mortality among them, ten or twelve dying of a day, amongst which was the gallant and worthy officer, Brigadier Gen.

Bouquet. This gentleman had served his Majesty all the last war with great distinction. He was promoted from conscious merit not only unenvied, but even with the approbation and good wishes of all who knew him. His superior judgment and knowledge of military matters, his experienced abilities, known humanity, remarkable politeness and constant attention to the civil rights of his Majesty's subjects, rendered him an honor to his country and a loss to mankind. He arrived the 23d of August, and died September 2." Thus in the midst of his growing fame and in the full vigor of manhood this superb man, who had faced death unscathed a thousand times in the forests and thickets of Pennsylvania, met his untimely end from insidious disease, just as he was about to begin his career on a new theatre of action in the far distant south.

He died universally regretted, and his character and example were commended by contemporary writers as worthy of imitation by young officers who desired to win a lasting fame in the public service. He sleeps in a soldier's grave, far from home and kindered, far from those who knew him but to love him. But warm and grateful hearts in the North land cherished his memory and fame with fond affection 118 years ago. And although for a time oblivion's waves seemed to have almost engulfed him, yet we see the dawn of a brighter day and feel assured that the fame of Bouquet will shine forth bright and beautiful as in days of yore. In the forum of all grateful hearts, among the descendants of Colonial ancestors or pioneer settlers, a monument deserves to be erected to the memory of Henry Bouquet more enduring than Parian marble or Corinthian brass. Reverently and gratefully I pay him this tribute, and would that it were indeed an amaranthine chaplet to adorn and perpetuate his memory, yea to call forth the homage of the good, the brave and the true, as the centuries go marching down the corridors of time.

#### BOUQUET'S GRAVE UNKNOWN.

Bouquet's grave at Pensacola is unmarked and unknown. During the past ten months very thorough researches have

been made by the military authorities on the Gulf, but all in vain, as the subjoined letters indicate.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, February 13, 1883. }

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 9th inst. enclosing one addressed to our Minister at Great Britain, has been received. It affords me great pleasure to aid you all I can in this matter, and I have accordingly submitted your letter to Mr. Lowell, to the Hon. the Secretary of War, for transmission to the Secretary of State for such action as may be consistent with public interests.

Referring to your inquiry of the 9th ult., respecting the remains of Bouquet, I regret to inform you, that the commanding officer at Fort Barrancas, Fla., to whom your request was referred, reports under the date of the 7th instant, that he has made search and inquiry in Pensacola regarding the whereabouts of Gen. Bouquet's remains, but has not been able to learn anything about them. He further states that the oldest cemetery at Pensacola was commenced in 1780, and that those best posted in the matter have informed him that all the cemeteries at that place were destroyed prior to 1780, and that there is no trace of them left.

The old cemeteries at Pensacola were probably destroyed in 81, when that town was besieged and taken by the Spanish General Galvez.

I will make further inquiries regarding Bouquet's remains and apprise you of the result.

Yours very truly,

R. C. DRUM,  
*Adjutant General.*

REV. CYRUS CORT,  
Greencastle, Franklin County, Pa.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, March 21, 1883. }

DEAR SIR: I have received General Hancock's answer to my inquiries regarding Bouquet's remains.

He informs me that upon the receipt of my letter he referred it to several officers who have been stationed at Fort Barrancas, Fla., for any information or suggestions they might have in this matter; that they named certain persons who, they thought, could probably furnish the desired information, but that all efforts in that direction have thus far proved to be unsuccessful.

The commanding officer of Fort Barrancas again visited Pensacola, with a view of obtaining some information of the remains

of Bouquet, supposed to have been buried there. He interviewed a number of gentlemen, old residents of that town, and states that none of them have ever heard of Bouquet.

He also searched the old cemetery, which was deeded by the Spanish to the Catholic church in 1781, but without success, and finally states that—unfortunately—the records of the cemetery as well as those of the Catholic church, were destroyed by fire last summer, and regrets to state that it is impossible to gain any information at Pensacola regarding the whereabouts of Bouquet's remains.

I am, yours very truly,

R. C. DRUM,

*Adjutant General.*

The REV. CYRUS CORT,  
Greencastle, Franklin County, Pa.

General Drum has shown great zeal and persistency in this research. He has always manifested deep interest in the character and career of Col. Bouquet, and as a Westmorelander of old and honored lineage, he is anxious to have justice done to the hero of Bushy Run. It remains for the present generation to mark aright the field of Bouquet's greatest triumph by a monument as lasting as the hills which were consecrated by the blood and valor of his heroic soldiers. Appropos to this part of my subject I will append a poem, which was written in a freight car on the Iowa prairies, whilst the writer was transporting his horse and household goods from one field of pastoral labor to another, Nov. 19, 1880, the thermometer being several degrees below zero.

#### BOUQUET'S GRAVE.

He sleeps in an unknown grave,  
In a far away land,  
By the South Sea strand,  
Bouquet sleeps the sleep of the brave.

Sleep on, Oh son of the free !  
Where the blood of the Scot.  
From the field where you fought,  
Ran down to the boundless sea.

Ah ! was it not grandly meet,  
That the gallant Bouquet,  
In that land far away,  
Should lie where the surges beat.

Oh Sea! be an urn for the men,  
And a requiem bell  
For the hero who fell,  
Till the muse shall be grateful again.

Alas! 'Tis a burning shame,  
That the Keystone state  
Should be tardy or late  
To cherish the Switzer's fame.

Redeemed were your woody hills  
By the Swiss and the Scot,  
Let them ne'er be forgot  
While valor the bosom thrills.

Awake! Ye sons of the North!  
And the deeds of these men  
Clasp to your hearts again,  
And fondly cherish their worth.

Oh, land of the brave and free!  
Bright as the noonday sun,  
Long as your streams shall run  
Let the fame of the Switzer be.

A MONUMENT DUE BOUQUET.

In an article written for Frank Cowan's paper, on the Bushy Run battle, nearly eleven years ago, I asked the question "does not Westmoreland county, yea all Western Pennsylvania owe a monument to Henry Bouquet?" In my centennial speech at Hannastown, a year ago, I enlarged upon the same thought and, I trust, that in the Providence of God, I may see the day when the dear old county of my nativity will thus honor herself, as well as the grand hero who has made her soil historic ground. All public spirited people should aid in such a work. It will stimulate the young to emulate one who, amid perils and privations, by sterling merit and conscientious fidelity to duty, rose from obscurity to become the peer of the greatest and best.

It will help to demonstrate that no flight of years or changes of human governments and institutions, can obliterate the memory of genuine worth and true manhood, as illustrated in the history of Henry Bouquet.

With Pericles, as amplified by Edward Everett at Gettysburg, we may say of illustrious men "The whole earth is their sepulchre and all time the millenium of their glory." Wherever heroic deeds have been done, wherever the battles of human civilization have been fought and won, that is hallowed ground, full of deepest interest to every thoughtful, true-hearted man.

"These are the shrines to code nor creed confined  
The Delphian vales, the Palestine, the Meccas of the mind."

Bushy Run battlefield ought to be, and I feel assured will be looked upon, in years to come, as such a shrine. Here savage barbarism, as represented by Pontiac and Guyasutha, two of its noblest representatives, met the vanguard of civilization, culture and progress, under the matchless leadership of Bouquet. Here, too, was fought and won the battle which virtually established the supremacy of the Anglo Saxon race, in the great valley of the Mississippi.

"The land is holy where they fought  
And holy where they fell."

Not by British blood and valor *per se*, but by Swiss and Scot, Royal Americans, Provincials and Highlanders from Caledonia hills, by these other branches of the great Teutonic host, the Aryan or Indo-Germanic family of nations, was this typical battle fought and won 120 years ago.

It is meet that the German-Swiss and Scotch-Irish elements should possess this goodly land, as they do this day, forming the bone and sinew of Westmoreland's sterling population.

And it is meet that they should not forget the pit out of which they have been dug, nor the rock from which they have been hewn.

The toils and privations of our colonial ancestors should be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. They braved the perils of old ocean and of life in the Western wilderness, amid savage beasts and more savage men, for the sake of religious principle, and that their children might be freeholders and freemen in the best sense of the term. Let us prize the precious birthright as something

more precious than silver or gold. "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Ideas, principles, sentiments cultivating a pure and progressive Christian manhood, are of vastly more account than the filthy lucre, on which so many set their hearts. The scenery and associations of childhood and youth are educational. They stamp their impress upon the soul for weal or for woe. Inspiring historical treasures are beyond all price. Many are the lines of thought and currents of history that centre in and around the honorable and eventful career of Henry Bouquet. As good men did in days of old, so now would I commend his as a character and example worthy of study and imitation by the young and all entrusted with official positions.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Bouquet willed a large tract of land in Trough Valley, (Huntingdon or Mifflin Co., Pa.,) to Mr. Thos. Willing. This was a brother of Miss Annie Willing, his fair correspondent. His extensive Long Meadows estate in Maryland lay a few miles north or north-east of Hagerstown, Md., and is now owned by the Lehmans, Willems, Cresslers, and others.

Col. Haldimand, his legatee, and executor, was his special Swiss compatriot and military comrade. He figured somewhat in the Revolutionary War, and became governor-general of Canada, from which post he retired in 1785, to die in his native Switzerland. Many of Bouquet's most valuable papers are included among those of Haldimand, at present, in the British Museum. The time to write a complete biography of the man has not yet arrived.

Mr. G. D. Scull, of Philadelphia, residing at Oxford, England, expects to publish a very limited edition of some of these papers during the ensuing year. He claims that on one occasion Bouquet saved Philadelphia from sack and pillage, the proof of which will doubtless appear in his book. I had hoped to be able to refer to this proposed publication in the preparation of this sketch, but have been disappointed.

## PONTIAC'S SUBMISSION.

Pontiac, for a season remained defiant, even after his confederates had submitted to the terms of Bouquet. When Capt. Morris went to him with proposals of peace, he met him on the outskirts of his camp, and refused to take his hand. With flashing eye, he exclaimed, "The English are liars." And yet he spared the captain's life, as he afterwards did that of Lieut. Fraser, Mr. Croghan, and other peace envoys, although his warriors were anxious to slay them. He sought the country of the Illinois, with 400 warriors, where the flag of France still floated, as it had done since the days of La Salle, Tonti, &c., in 1680.

He urged the different tribes to rise again and fight for the preservation of their race, and threatened to destroy those who shirked. French traders had all along led him to expect aid from their great King. At length, he was fully convinced, by replies of French officers, in response to his embassies sent to Fort Chartres and New Orleans, that all hope of help from that quarter was vain. He then gave up the contest, and agreed to meet with other confederates at the great council, held by Sir Wm. Johnson, to arrange definitely the terms of peace, secured by the campaigns of Bouquet.

Croghan, who met him repeatedly and experienced his magnanimity in restraining warriors who were anxious to kill the British peace-agent, speaks thus of the great Ottawa chieftain: "Pontiac is a shrewd, sensible Indian, of few words, and commands more respect among his own nation than any Indian I ever saw could do among his own tribe."

Late in the fall of 1765 Capt. Sterling descended the Ohio in boats, and passed up the Mississippi with one hundred Highlanders of the 42d regiment to Fort Chartres, of which he took formal possession in the name of Great Britain.

It was fitting that "those veterans whose battle cry," as Parkman says, "had echoed over the bloodiest fields of America," should consummate on the banks of the Father of Waters the work begun at Bushy Run, and es-

tablish forever Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the new world. In due time Pontiac appeared at the great council held by Sir Wm. Johnson during the latter part of July, 1766. The following are the opening sentences of his speech: "Father, we thank the Great Spirit for giving us so fine a day to meet upon such great affairs. I speak in the name of all the nations to the westward, of whom I am the master. It is the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet here to-day; and before him I now take you by the hand. I call him to witness that I speak from the heart; for since I took Col. Croghan by the hand last year, I have never let go my hold, for I see that the Great Spirit will have us friends."

#### PONTIAC'S ASSASSINATION AND ITS EXPIATION.

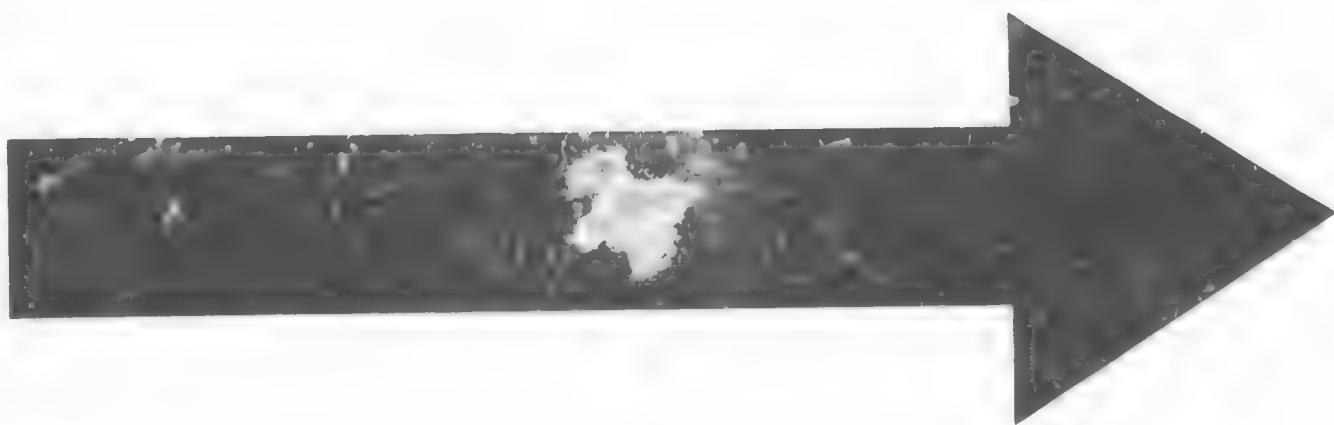
Everything was amicably adjusted at the council, and Pontiac, with many presents, returned to the Maumee, where he spent one season. He afterwards seems to have located in the region of the Illinois Indians, who were jealous of his presence, and who approved of his assassination. Accounts differ in regard to this affair, Mr. Parkman adopts the Cahokia theory i. e., that Pontiac was killed at that place by an Illinois Indian who had been bribed to do the foul deed by Williamson, an English trader, who feared that Pontiac, while on a drunken spree, was about to stir up trouble against the English, and thus interfere with his traffic. Mr. Matson contends that Pontiac was fatally stabbed by Kineboo, the chief of the Illinois Indians at a council, held near Joliet, in that state.

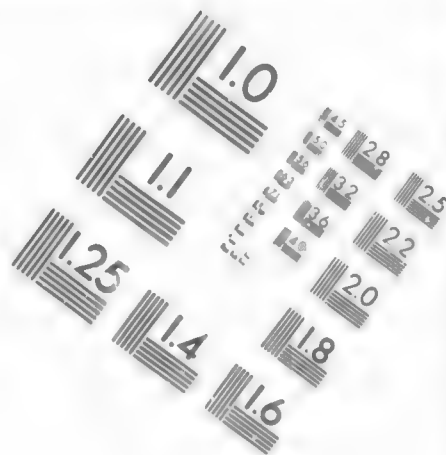
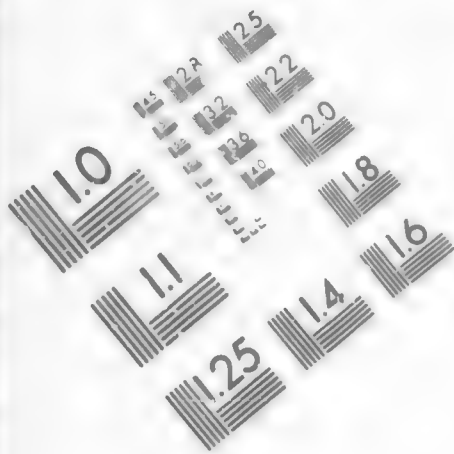
One thing is certain, the Illinois Indians were held responsible for his assassination. All the tribes that in former days had felt the magic spell of his eloquence and had responded to his bugle call, now leagued together to avenge the death of Pontiac by a war of extermination against the Illinois Indians.

The following extract I take from an article which I prepared for the *Guardian* for August, 1882, on the basis of Matson's theory:

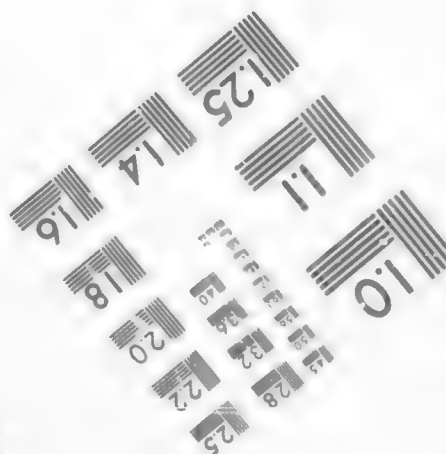
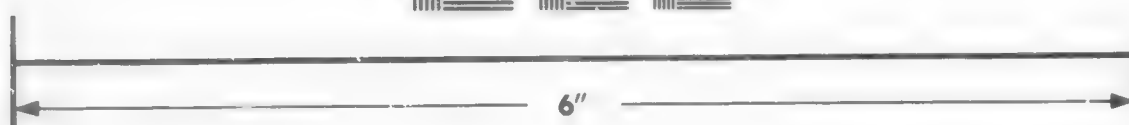
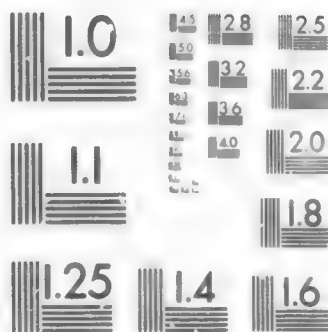
"Runners were sent to the Winnebagos, of the North, and the Kickapoos, of the South-west, who agreed to help avenge the death of the great Pontiac. Over the remains a council was held by the allies, who swore by the great Manito of war not to lay down the tomahawk until the fallen chieftain's death should be avenged by the destruction of the Illinois Indians, who abetted the cowardly deed of Kineboo. The Miamis united with the tribes already mentioned, and Bernet, the white outlaw, also with a band of warriors, joined in the bloody strife. The combined forces made the most formidable Indian army ever collected in the West. Death and annihilation to the Illinois was the savage oath of the ferocious avengers. The smaller towns along the Illinois river were first destroyed, and finally La Vantum, their great capital, which was defended by their bravest warriors, was suddenly assaulted. The skull and cross bones of Pontiac were borne on a red pole by the avengers. Their first attack met with a bloody repulse. A council of war was called by the invaders, at which the leading war chiefs, with fiery eloquence, advocated that nothing short of extermination of the Illinoisans would meet the demands of the case or be acceptable to the great Manito of war. The Illinois warriors had spent much of the night in dancing and premature rejoicing over the repulse of the assailants, and were taken by surprise in the morning. After terrific carnage, the allies were again repulsed with great slaughter. But again and again they returned with reinforcements to the conflict. Thus for twelve long hours the carnival of death went on in and around La Vantum, the great Indian city of the West. Night came on, and still the battle raged, until a heavy rain storm put an end to hostilities. During the darkness and storm the Illinois Indians crossed the Illinois river in their canoes and ascended Starved Rock, the old site of Fort St. Louis, where Tonti had so signally repulsed the Iroquois. Here the remnant of 1200 Illinois Indians, including 300 warriors, rallied and thought themselves secure. But the allied forces, not content with the destruction of the town and other property of the Illinois, quickly surrounded the Rock, determined to avenge the death of Pontiac by the complete annihilation of all who in any way approved of his assassination. With ferocious yells they rushed up the rugged pathway on the only accessible side of the rocky summit. But brave and desperate Illinois warriors, with war clubs and tomahawks, sent them bleeding and mangled down the steep declivity. Again and again did the fierce avengers attempt to storm the almost impregnable heights. Many were slain as soon as they reached the summit, and hurled over the precipice into the river below. After losing many of their brav-

est warriors, the allies gave up the assault and began the slow and tedious work of starving out the besieged Illinoisans. At the time of the attack upon the town a French and Indian half-breed warrior, named Belix, who had greatly distinguished himself in previous battles, was being married to the beautiful daughter of Chief Kineboo. When the assault was made upon the Rock, Belix stood foremost and most valliant among the defenders, and with his war-club dealt death-blows upon many of the assailants. His bride stood near by to encourage her gallant lord, but when she saw him fall with skull cloven by a tomahawk, she uttered a wild scream and sprang over the Rock, falling from crag to crag until her lifeless body dropped into the river below. Fifty-one years had elapsed since the rock had been abandoned by the French, and the palisades and earth-works afforded but little protection against sharp-shooters who took possession of neighboring cliffs and joined in a galling fire upon the Illinois. Kineboo, whose rash and dastardly act had precipitated the war, was killed in this way. But soon a rampart, sufficient to ward off bullets was erected by the besieged along the exposed edges of the precipices. But the worst enemy now began to assail them. Hunger began to gnaw at their vitals with remorseless tooth. The small supply of provisions, brought along in their flight from La Vantum, were soon exhausted. The Rock of refuge became an altar of sacrifice, of whole burnt offering, to the Illinois in the end; for their relentless foes never relaxed in the siege until the last Illinois but one had perished. A warrior, the solitary exception, let himself down by a buckskin cord into the river on a dark and stormy night and escaped, but all the rest,—warriors, squaws and papposes perished. Some of the squaws, in the delirium of hunger and thirst, would spring with their infants into the river. Warriors would make a sortie only to be slain or driven back by the merciless avengers. Some feasted on the dead. The death-song was chanted, and at last, when a final assault was made, only a few feeble survivors remained to be tomahawked. Thus perished the once powerful and arrogant Illinois, and thus terribly was the assassination of the great Pontiac avenged. Great must have been the magnetism of the man in life and death who marshalled the conspiracy which nearly drove the English east of the Alleghenies, and which combined the savage hosts of the lakes and the prairies to expiate "the deep damnation of his taking off" by a holocaust that is unparalleled even in the history of savage warfare and retaliation. Well may the old site of Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois river, near Ottawa, Illinois, the scene of the first white settlement in the Mississippi valley, two hundred years ago, be called Starved





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Rock, in commemoration of that closing tragedy and catastrophe in the history of the great tribe whose name is perpetuated not only by the river along which they roved, fished and hunted, and fought their numerous foes, but also by the title of one of the greatest and most prosperous states in the American Union."

Thus was expiated the death of Pontiac, over whose grave, as Parkman says, "more blood was poured out in atonement than flowed from the veins of the slaughtered heroes on the corpse of Patroclus."

Let justice be done to the memory of the man who broke the eastern wing of the great conspiracy at Bushy Run, Aug. 6, 1763, and rolled back the advancing tide of savage barbarism. All honor to Colonel Henry Bouquet and his heroic army of deliverance, who consecrated by their blood and valor, the green hills of old Westmoreland and made them historic forever.

#### WESTMORELAND COUNTY BEFORE AND DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Westmoreland county was created by Pennsylvania provincial authorities in 1773, and originally included all that part of the State west of Laurel Hill. A dozen other counties have since been created out of the same territory, so that for Western Pennsylvania it may be said that "Old Westmoreland" was the mother of counties.

Hannastown, a hamlet a few miles north-east of Greensburg, was the first county seat. Here justice was first dispensed, west of the Alleghenies, according to the civil code. William Crawford, afterwards burnt by the Indians, was the first presiding justice, and Arthur St. Clair was the first prothonotary. The first court fixed the price of a gill of whiskey at four pence; toddy, one shilling; West India rum, six pence; cider, per quart, one shilling six pence; strong beer, per quart, sixpence.

The jail was made of rough, unhewn logs. Punishments were fines, whipping, standing in pillory or stocks, cropping off ears and branding.

Rape, sodomy, robbery, mahem, arson, burglary, witchcraft and concealing of a bastard child were punishable

with death, as well as murder. Virginia set up rival claims to a large part of the territory included in Westmoreland county, and created West Augusta county to cover it. Lord Dunmore, her Tory Governor, organized a court at Pittsburgh Feb. 21, 1775, to offset the claims of Pennsylvania. Dr. John Connolly, a resident of Pittsburgh, was the Virginia agent, and representative of Dunmore. He published a manifesto Jan. 1, 1774, inviting settlers to meet at Pittsburgh on the 25th proximo for conference, assuring them of the protection of Virginia.

Arthur St. Clair, a justice of the peace of Westmoreland, issued a warrant and had Connolly arrested for a short time and confined in the log jail at Hannastown. Connolly, after his release, issued warrants and arrested the Westmoreland justices of the peace. The conflict continued for about a year. Virginia's claims were recognized at Fort Pitt and in the Monongahela region. Yohogania county was created Nov. 30, 1776, out of part of Augusta and included the greater part of Alleghany and Washington counties. Virginia courts were held for five years under these auspices. Virginia's price for lands being cheaper than those of Pennsylvania the settlers in those regions generally sided with her in the dispute. At Bushy Run, Hannastown and Ligonier, with adjacent settlements, Pennsylvania interests and claims were upheld. This conflict of jurisdiction caused great trouble and uneasiness, which was not allayed fully until the completion of the western end of Mason and Dixon's line, after the Revolution.

From the date of Bouquet's peace, dictated to the Indians on the Muskingum, until the outbreak of the Revolution, there was comparative peace and tranquility, so far as the Indians were concerned. The fur traders plied their lucrative traffic without molestation. The country began to fill up rapidly. When the War of Independence began, the sectional disputes were forgotten and a common purpose was manifested to resist the encroachments of Great Britain. Hannastown has the honor of not only being the first seat of civil justice, west of the Alleghanies, but of leading the van in sounding the note of defiance in

a formal public declaration of the sentiments that stirred the heart of the persecuted colonies. On the sixteenth of May, 1775, a convention was held at Hannastown, which denounced the acts of British usurpation and tyranny, and took measures to provide for the common defence.

Westmoreland was prompt in electing delegates, July 8, 1776, to attend the convention, which met in Philadelphia, July 15, 1776, to lay the foundations of a government, "based on the authority of the people only."

That convention included many of the best men of the state—wise in counsel, brave and energetic in action. Men like Franklin, Clymer, Hiester, and Rittenhouse. Westmoreland sent as her delegates—James Barr, Edward Cook, James Smith, John Moore, John Carmichael, James Perry, John McClellan and Christian Lavingair.

Before taking their seats or casting their votes, they were required to subscribe to the following: "I, — —, do profess faith in God, the Father, and in Jesus Christ, His Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed forevermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." A very correct and orthodox profession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The convention adjourned September 28, 1776, after framing an excellent form of government, by the people and for the people. In fact, their work has formed the basis for all the state constitutions since adopted.

And now came the horrors of war. To the everlasting disgrace and infamy of Great Britain, it must be said that she offered large bounties to cruel savages for the scalps of the frontier settlers, men, women and children.

The British Governor, Hamilton, who had control at Detroit and along the northern frontiers, gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners. In consequence the Indians compelled the poor captives to carry their plunder to the immediate vicinity of Detroit, where, after having endured indescribable sufferings during the journey through the wilderness, the poor creatures were put to death and scalped in cold blood to get the bounty. DePeyster, under orders from Haldimand,

acted more humanely as commandant at Detroit. He encouraged the Indians to bring in live meat, as the prisoners from the borders were called, rather than scalps, which he did not like to see. In this way he saved 300 frontier prisoners from a barbarous death. Prowling bands of savages continually ravaged the borders, and Westmoreland was a favorite resort for the scalping parties. The old war path of the Catawbas and Cherokees from the south and southwest, with a tributary trail or path from Tennessee and Kentucky, went right through the heart of Westmoreland to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, in western New York, where lived the Iroquois, or Six Nations, their inveterate enemies. After the conquest of the southern tribes by their powerful northern foes, they made periodical trips to pay tribute or show proper obeisance to the conquerors.

The Mohawk Pluggy, located on the eastern branch of the Scioto, with a lawless and miscellaneous gang of marauders, made frequent forays into the settlements along the Ohio and its branches.

Generals Hand and McIntosh, Col. Brodhead and Gen. Irvine commanded Fort Pitt during the Revolution, and although many expeditions were projected and a few abortive ones undertaken to carry the war into the Indian country, nothing serious was ever accomplished in that line to check the repeated incursions of the savages. Such a campaign and commander as carried terror to their hearts in their own native haunts in 1764, would have secured safety and tranquility to a large extent. But the desultory and fragmentary efforts put forth from time to time for aggressive movements against the savages and Tories, as a rule only resulted in greater hardships for the frontier settlers.

McKee, the Girty's and other Tories who had grudge against the frontier settlers, led on the savage demons with great craft and daring against the exposed frontiers.

In April, 1778, a Westmorelander wrote, "God only knows what may be the fate of this county; but at present it wears a dismal aspect." May 1, 1779, another wrote, "The savages are continually making depredations

among us ; not less than forty people have been killed, wounded or captured this spring." A year later and the prospect was still more gloomy. Over forty settlers had been slain in the Monongahela region, and the raids were frequent from the northern Allegheny regions. "It really began to look," wrote Butterfield, "as though Westmoreland would again become a wilderness. The people, in a half starving condition, huddled in and about the forts and block-houses. The troops at Fort Pitt were ragged, unpaid, poorly fed, and of course discontented and inefficient. In August the Maryland corps deserted their posts on the frontier of Westmoreland, and in a body marched across the mountains. Lochry and his 150 picked men were surprised and destroyed in 1781. Crawford, another county official, met with terrible disaster and death in 1782 ; and thus the chapter of horrors and frontier suffering goes on. Brodhead and some of his subordinate officers got at loggerheads, and in the midst of quarrels among officers at Fort Pitt the work of desolation prospered.

Gen. Irvine was appointed, but although many campaigns were talked about, none but such as Crawford's, Williamson's, &c., badly managed affairs, were actualized. The main army was engaged in the last death grapples with the British Lion along the Atlantic coast, and the western settlers were largely left to the mercy of the savages.

The British were emboldened even to fit out an expedition to capture Fort Pitt. Three hundred British and Tories, and five hundred Indians, assembled with twelve pieces of artillery, on Lake Jadagua (Chatauqua), in 1782, with this intention. Having learned, through a spy, that the fort was much stronger than had been supposed, the main object of the expedition was given up. The usual method of border warfare was then adopted, and marauding bands went into the different settlements. A feeling of unrest and apprehension pervaded the frontier. Many had been shot down and scalped, and prisoners carried off from the immediate vicinity of Forts Walthour, Klingensmith, &c. This sense of alarm found very timely and forcible representation in the petition of German settlers on Brush Creek, addressed to General Irvine, com-

mander at Fort Pitt, June 22, 1782. It sets forth the despondency and distress of the people on account of continued calamities (Crawford's fate had just been learned). They speak of the great peril attending the gathering of the harvest, nearly ripe, and beg for some troops to protect them as they seek to gather in the crops, which are needed to save them from famine—as much to be dreaded as the scalping knife. This petition was signed by ancestors of many living Westmorelanders, viz.: George, Christopher, Joseph and Michael Waldhauer (Walthour,) Abraham and Joseph Studabedker, Michael and Jacob Byerly, John and Jacob Ruthdorf, Frederick Williard, — Wiesskoph (Whitehead), Abram Schneider, Peter and Jacob Loutzenheiser, Hanover Davis, Conrad Zulten, Garret Pendegrast and John Kammerer. This petition is given by Butterfield, without the names of signers, on pages 300–301, of his valuable book, "Washington Irvine Correspondence."

#### ATTACK ON HANNASTOWN.

Three weeks later, July 13, 1782, a large detachment of the aforesaid Chatauqua expedition burst upon Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland. They burned the town, and came very near capturing the fort, into which a few of the frightened settlers, with Michael Huffleagle, the prothonotary, at their head, had fled for safety. Captain Matthew Jack, by his courage and presence of mind, saved many lives on that disastrous day, as he rode gallantly from point to point, even through the encompassing lines of whooping savages. Miller's station, near by, was raided by the Indians, and the greater part of a wedding party was captured, including the wife and daughters of Robert Hanna. Captain Brownlee, and several others, were tomahawked, after being led captives a few miles. Dwellings were destroyed, together with many horses and cattle. The settlers were so terror-stricken that the ripened harvest was not gathered in many places, and great want ensued. Connolly, the renegade Tory, whom Gen. St. Clair had confined in the log jail at Hannastown, is supposed to have led this party, together with Guyasutha, the famous Seneca chief.

About 20 persons were killed or captured in this foray. On the 13th of July, 1882, the centennial of this attack and repulse of the Indians and Tories at Hannastown, was celebrated by a large assemblage of Westmorelanders, in the woods near the old site of Hannastown. Hon. Jacob Turney presided, and made the opening address. Addresses were also made by Hon. Daniel Kane, Judge Bigham, Ex-Senator Cowan, and Rev. Cyrus Cort.

#### RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY SETTLERS.

It is gratifying to know that amid their dangers and hardships, those Teutonic pioneers in old Westmoreland forgot not the God of their fathers.

On May 1, 1782, when the Reformed Cœtus (Synod) met at Reading, Pa., a petition was received from "A congregation in Westmoreland county, near Pittsburg, in the back part of Pennsylvania, a new settlement, where no ministers have yet been." They "very earnestly entreated for a good minister, to whom they promise to pay annually 80 pounds sterling, besides other necessities of life."

Rev. John William Weber, having expressed a willingness to go west and take charge of this mission enterprise, the Reverend Cœtus recommended him and advised the Westmoreland people to give him a regular call. He arrived in Sept., 1782, and preached through what now constitutes Westmoreland, Washington and Fayette counties, and at Fort Pitt, where the traveler Schopf met him in October, 1782. The congregations at Harolds and Brush Creek were organized a few months after Rev. Weber's arrival in Westmoreland. Here worshipped the Turneys, Drums, Barnharts, Marchands, Trubys, Mechlins, Kemmerers, Kifers, Klines, Byerlys, Whiteheads, Saams, Klingensmiths, Kunkles, Walthours, Baughmans, Thomases, Detars, Harrolds, Grosses, Henrys, Corts, Keppels, Kiehls, Shrums, Painters, and many other ancestors of Reformed and Lutheran families.

Previous to the coming of Rev. Weber many of these German pioneers used to meet at the house of Loutzenheiser and Davis to read the scriptures, sing the sweet

hymns of the German fatherland, hear a sermon read by some competent person, and engage in other religious services as best they could.

They frequently carried their rifles with them, when they went to worship in the early days of Rev. Weber's ministry. Prowling savages lurked in the thickets for many years. Amid such perils and privations, those pioneer settlers carved out homes for their children and turned the western wilderness of Penn's woods into a fruitful field. Surely a grateful posterity should honor their memory and rise up and call them blessed, while enjoying the goodly fruits of their pioneer toil.

At a still earlier date the Scotch-Irish, led by pastors Finley, Power, McMillan, Dodd, Smith, &c., occupied the Sewickly and other settlements, and already in 1781 the old Redstone Presbytery was organized. "The incursions of savages" prevented the first meeting being held at Laurel Hill, the appointed place, and so it met at Pigeon Creek.

It is meet, as already said, that the descendants of the hardy Scotch-Irish and German-Swiss should occupy the green hills and fertile valleys of old Westmoreland. By the blood and the sweat and the toil of their pioneer ancestors, this goodly land has been rescued from savage barbarism. Hallowed be the memory of the brave men and women who nobly stood in the breach in the hour of trial and danger.

Pennsylvania has been compared to a sleeping giant, not yet fully conscious of her vast power and resources. With unappreciated modesty, she has failed to assert her rights, and especially has she neglected to cherish aright the rich legacies of the past, bequeathed by an honest and patriotic ancestry. It behooves us to gather up the historic treasures that rightfully belong to our grand old Keystone commonwealth.

Our own self-respect and independent manhood demands this. It is no less a duty to posterity than a debt of gratitude to our heroic ancestry. The educational effect will be stimulating and ennobling in all respects.

For the sake of religious principle, our forefathers crossed old ocean's wave and braved the dangers of pioneer life in the new world. In the midst of untold perils, they were true to the principles of civil and religious liberty, as we have already seen, and here on our native hills was fought the decisive battle of Christian civilization against heathen barbarism.

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### ADDENDA.

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Referring back to page 11, it is proper to remark that Bouquet and Washington were personally on good terms, and did not impugn each others motives.

Many persons will doubtless feel prompted to contribute toward the erection of a monument to Henry Bouquet, after reading the record of his gallant achievements. All such will please send funds or written pledges to James Gregg, Chairman of Finance Committee, Greensburg, Pa., subject to the disposal of the Executive Committee—Coulter, Kline and Gregg—for that purpose.

P. S.—After this pamphlet was nearly all in type, I learned that at a meeting held subsequent to June 19, 1883, it was decided to invite the following gentlemen to address the meeting at Bushy Run battlefield, Aug. 6, 1883, viz:

Hon. James G. Blaine, of Washington, D. C.; Dr. Sam'l Wilson, of Allegheny City, Pa.; Gen. James A. Beaver, of Bellefonte, Pa.; Hon. William S. Stenger, of Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. Cyrus Cort, of Greencastle, Pa.; Wm. M. Darlington, of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Hon. W. U. Hensel, of Lancaster, Pa.; Hon. Silas M. Clark, of Indiana, Pa.; Hon. Wm. Koontz, of Somerset, Pa.

POEM.—Frank Cowan, Esq., of Greensburg, Pa.

ERROR.—On page 54, instead of "Schnorrbock" read "Schnorr, Vock."